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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1447

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ALBANIA

'ATA' CARRIES REPRINT OF 1963 HOXHA ARTICLE ON YUGOSLAVIA

Tirana ATA in English 0705 GMT 2 Sep 77 LD

[Text] Tirana, 2 Sep ATA--The newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, and the newspaper BASHKIMI, central organ of the Albanian Democratic Front, today reprint the writing by Comrade Enver Hoxha published for the first time as an editorial article in ZERI I POPULLIT on September 13, 1963, entitled: "Results of N. Khruschev's Visit to Yugoslavia." Follows the text:

A few days ago Khrushchev concluded his visit to Yugoslavia. Both the propaganda machine of the revisionists and the Western press tried to give this visit the maximum "International political significance." It is now clear to all that Khrushchev did not go to Yugoslavia for a holiday, as stated at first. He went there to complete the process of the complete rehabilitation of the Tito clique, to openly unite with this band of traitors, which has been condemned for a long time by all the Communist and Workers' parties, to hatch new plots to harm the Socialist camp, the International Communist Movement and peace, and to take a further step towards rapprochement with U.S. imperialism.

These aims of N. Khrushchev's visit became immediately obvious from his endless statements boosting the "successful building of socialism in Yugoslavia," the "correct Marxist-Leninist line and the outstanding merits of the present Yugoslav leaders" headed by "My Friend and Comrade Tito," about the contribution of the Tito clique to the "development of the principles of peaceful coexistence," to the "strengthening of the world socialist community," to the "consolidation of the unity of the communist and workers' movement," to the "creative development of Marxism-Leninism," about the contribution of the Yugoslav leaders to the "strengthening of the anti-imperialist front," about "the good points of the Yugoslav road to socialism," which, allegedly, is worthy of special attention and study by other socialist countries, in order to copy it, and about the "great role which Yugoslavia should play in the Balkans," and so on.

Tito, on his party, pointed out that certain differences of points of view which still exist are losing their significance in the face of their great common goals. He expressed his satisfaction at Khrushchev's high appraisal of his own activity, of his struggle for "Socialism" and the spreading of "Communist" ideas and the "Communist" spirit in Yugoslavia, at the attacks which Khrushchev has launched against the Communist movement, the Communist Party of China, the Party of labor of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

The first main conclusion to be drawn from Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia is that, by completely rehabilitating the Tito clique and uniting with it, the Moscow revisionist group has committed itself even more thoroughly to the camp of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism and peace and plunged even deeper into the morass of betrayal.

In his August 24th speech at Split, Khrushchev publicly declared, "We note with satisfaction that, on the absolute majority of international problems, the views of the USSR and Yugoslavia are similar. The unity of views and actions of the USSR and Yugoslavia in the international plane is a very important factor in world politics. This unity contributes to the development of the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations among all states." This, and many other statements of this kind, not only show a complete unity of views between N. Khrushchev and Tito on matters of foreign policy, but they also demonstrate that N. Khrushchev has made Tito his equal partner in the leadership of world's policy. But what role has N. Khrushchev assigned to his other partners? Apparently, they are to follow the "Yugoslav Star" of the revisionist caravan, blindly, like puppets.

In the field of ideology Khrushchev himself several times admitted that complete unity has been achieved on the fundamental issues. "For us Soviet Communists," he stressed, there can be no basic contradictions with the Yugoslav Communists," while at Brioni, on August 28, he told foreign journalists: "We have the same ideas and are guided by the same theory."

There is no need for a guide to a village already in sight. It has now become quite clear to the whole world, even without these public confirmations, that both Tito and Khrushchev are inspired by the same out-and-out revisionist ideas which have inspired all the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, and that in their disruptive anti-Marxist practical activity they are guided by the same objectives, which are to extinguish the revolutionary spirit of the International Communist Movement, to bury Marxism-Leninism, to liquidate socialism and reestablish the domination of imperialism.

Apart from their unity of views and activities in the field of politics and ideology, Khrushchev also laid the basis for closer collaboration with the Tito clique in the economic field. The purpose here is clear. He wants to make a contribution, along with the imperialists, to keep this clique on its feet, not only through his all-round political and ideological support, but also through economic aid, in order to make Yugoslavia a

showpiece or model of revisionist "Socialism." At Rakovica Khrushchev stated, "Good economic relations, too, are being established between our countries. Compared with 1955, the volume of trade turnover between our countries has risen nearly sixfold. In 1963 the mutual exchanges of goods are 50 percent up on last year."

In Velenja on August 30, Tito, for his part, confirmed that, "It is in the interests of both sides that we should extend and develop our relations still further. And we shall do this. We have, for instance, already reached an agreement about the cooperation of certain branches of the economy, which through our further collaboration will be expanded ever more." Yugoslavia has agreed to participate in the "Socialist division of Labor." Finally, it was accorded observer status in the Council of Mutual Economic Aid (COMECON). Tito, of course, has every reason to be satisfied with all this; he is like a horse with two or more mangers to feed from.

During his sojourn in Yugoslavia, Khruschev also revealed his determination to support the revisionist course of the Belgrade clique and, naturally enough, this was one of those matters that received the greatest publicity and most enthusiastic welcome from the Western press. Khrushchev revealed himself as a supporter of the Yugoslav road of socialism. In order to do this, he did not even hesitate to come out against the Soviet Union's road for the construction of socialism and communism, to openly criticize Soviet methods of management of the economy while eulogizing the Yugoslav's system of self-administration. Are there no limits to his treachery? This is how the Tanjug News Agency describes Khrushchev's meeting with the managers of the Rakovica combine in the neighborhood of Belgrade: "While stressing that in the Soviet Union they stick to the principle of a 'single manager,' Comrade Khrushchev said that he like the form of workers' councils and that such a thing was progressive. "We, in our country," Khrushchev continued, "are now seeking new forms of management, in which the public can find its full expression, and, therefore, your experience interests us...." He emphasized once again that the experience of Yugoslavia in regard to the workers' self-administration could also prove valuable. A study should be made of things which time has already confirmed. In connection with this, Khrushchev added that he would certainly send a group of functionaries of the party, the trade unions and the economic organs to make a detailed study of these matters in the Yugoslav practice."

It strikes the eye that through its detailed stories and reports, the Yugoslav press highlights Khrushchev's opinions and remarks at his meeting with the managers of the Rakovica Combine, especially emphasizing his high appraisal of "self-administration" and "workers' councils" as "progressive forms," when, as is known, they are the links to the restoration of (?capital) in the Yugoslav economy. However, precisely at the time the Yugoslav and Western press was making a great fuss about these utterances of Khrushchev's, the Soviet press, which specializes in extolling the "genius" of N. Khrushchev and which allows no chance to go by without singing praises to his "wit" and "sagacity," for once became surprisingly mute on that day, and published not one word about this discussion. Apparently,

the Moscow revisionists do not feel secure, and dare not come out openly before their own people in praise of those revisionist forms of the economy management which have nothing in common with socialism and which they themselves, not very long ago, criticized and rejected as anti-Marxist and anti-socialist, and as a variant of the theories of anarchosyndicalism.

Tito, once again proclaimed the superiority of the Yugoslav road to socialism and stressed that it was no longer specific to Yugoslavia alone but should become the foundation of the work of every party in the socialist countries. And the first successes, according to Tito, have become apparent in the Soviet Union during these last 10 years. His exact words are, "When we speak of workers' self-administration, we are not referring just to the problems and needs of one country in particular. Social self-administration is founded on the ideas of Marx-Engels and Lenin. That is why Comrade Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, quite correctly, always attaches very great importance to it. When we were in the Soviet Union we had the opportunity to convince ourselves that extraordinary development in all fields has been achieved there during these last 10 years."

Western observers have found it difficult to conceal their enthusiasm over Khrushchev's approval of the Yugoslav type of "socialism." In Yugoslavia they saw "A Khrushchev prepared to make many concessions, to take many steps forward." They have long regarded Yugoslavia as "a transmission-belt" to carry counterrevolutionary ideas from the West to the East. This is how Radio London expressed it on August 30: "Many observers consider Khrushchev's interest in the 'Workers' Councils' in Yugoslavia as the most important result of his visit to the Adriatic coast. These councils are nothing else but a symbol of Titoite communism, and constitute one of the main parts of the revisionism which the Soviet Union and the entire communist world officially condemned less than 3 years ago. The system of 'Workers' Councils' in Yugoslavia is half Communist and half Western. The only danger is that it may fall between two stools. This system, based on two models, is still holding its own. That's why N. Khrushchev is eager to do something similar in Russia. And if he does this he will be proclaiming not only Tito but also the Western economic (?system, the mouthpiece) of the big U. S. monopolists, the NEW YORK TIMES, wrote: "The most interesting aspect..., is the very friendly attitude of the Soviet Premier N. Khrushchev towards the Yugoslav system of implementing orthodox communism. This could give rise to big changes in Moscow's economic organization. Yugoslavia has adopted so many ideas from the West that it can play the role of a transmission-belt carrying Western economic ideas to the East."

Under these circumstances, is there any reason for the imperialist West to have the slightest worry about the results of Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia? None whatsoever.

Khrushchev's demagogic cannot continue for long to deceive the Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other communist and

workers' parties with his tales that allegedly changes have been made in Yugoslavia towards socialism, that the Yugoslav leaders are correcting their former mistakes and, consequently, that Yugoslavia is a country which "is building socialism."

Everybody knows how matters really stand, what "changes" have been made there. Daily life brings out many facts which prove that nothing has changed in Tito's Yugoslavia. Only the grave can straighten out a hunchback. Tito himself has stated repeatedly that he has discarded nothing from his program that "there is no question of any concession" and that he has not made and has no intention of making any change, whatsoever.

He repeated this once again to Khrushchev's very face. Once again publicly reassuring his friends in the West, Tito said, "In connection with the visit of N. Khrushchev rumors are already circulating in the West, conjecturing as to who will make concessions. Will Tito and the Yugoslav Communists enter the camp or will N. S. Khrushchev make concessions to the Yugoslav Communists on behalf of the Communists of the Soviet Union? This is altogether out of the question," Tito emphasized, "there is no question of any concessions. This matter will not be taken up in the talks" (PRAVDA, August 23, 1963).

Tito's words are really meant for other ears. For his part, his assurances are the truth. And the facts show this. Tito has made no concessions to Khrushchev, but Khrushchev has made many concessions to Tito. The newspaper WASHINGTON POST, which is very close to the U. S. Government and especially to the State Department, expressed the idea on August 24 that in the present state of international affairs, especially "in the Sino-Soviet conflict, Khrushchev stands in greater need of Tito than Tito of Khrushchev. Premier Khrushchev is trying to get on good terms with the Yugoslav leader again."

Khrushchev's demagogic tales about the Tito's clique having changed and corrected its mistakes are intended to prove that Yugoslavia is a real socialist country and that socialism is being built there successfully, in order to justify his full collaboration with the Tito clique, its final rehabilitation and the inclusion of Yugoslavia in the family of socialist countries and that of the League of Yugoslav Communists in the ranks of the International Communist Movement. But this is one of the crudest and most blatant violations of the 1960 Moscow Declaration, unanimously approved by all the fraternal parties, in which the Yugoslav revisionists were branded as traitors to Marxism-Leninism and as agents of imperialism, as splitters and underminers of the socialist camp, the International Communist Movement and the peace-loving forces and states.

But the achievement of full unity with the Tito clique shows clearly once again down which road the Khrushchev group is rushing. As the popular saying goes, "A man is judged by the company he keeps." To be united with the Yugoslav revisionists means to unite with the enemies of socialism, the renegades from Marxism, with the splitters of unity and the agents of imperialism, who are conspiring against the socialist countries and the entire world revolutionary movement. Not only has the Khrushchev group united with the treacherous Tito clique but it has launched frenzied attacks on all those parties and communists which, standing loyal to the Moscow

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Declaration of the 81 communist and workers' parties, carry out their international duty and expose the Yugoslav leaders with their revisionist ideas and anti-socialist activities. This means that the Khrushchev group has obliterated any distinction between friend and foe, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between defenders and disrupters of unity, and between anti-imperialist fighters and agents of imperialism, and has gone completely over to the camp of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, socialism, the peoples and peace in the world.

The second main conclusion to be drawn from Khrushchev's visit to the Tito clique, from their talks and public statements, is that they have coordinated their dangerous undermining activities against the socialist camp and the international communist movement, first and foremost against the Marxist-Leninist parties which are struggling, in a resolute and principled war, against modern revisionism and in defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism. This is clearly borne out by a series of incontestable facts.

It is now no secret to anyone that for some time back, Khrushchev and his propaganda agents have ceased to use the term "socialist camp." This was especially noticeable during his tour of Yugoslavia. In no address, in absolutely no published speech or conversation, can one find such an expression except at the August 21 banquet, when Tito made a scornful reference to it. The question here is not just that Khrushchev tried to avoid saying anything that might prejudice his "cordial relations" with the renegade Tito, through the use of such "unfashionable" and "unnecessary" terms as "the socialist camp," towards which, as everybody knows, the Yugoslav revisionists maintain a completely negative and hostile attitude. The fact is that Khrushchev supports and fully agrees with Tito's hostile attitude towards the socialist camp. When a journalist asked him at Brioni whether "the fact that Yugoslavia does not belong to blocs hinders the Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation" Khrushchev answered, "No." And added, "Historically all the socialist countries take the same Marxist-Leninist position, for we are linked by common ideas and are guided by a single theory, while other manifestations like 'blocs' and so on are temporary."

What does this mean? To what blocs is he referring? It is publicly known that the Yugoslav revisionists consider the socialist camp as a "bloc" that when they speak about the so-called "neutrality" or "nonalignment" of Yugoslavia, they pretend that they stand not only outside military blocs and organizations but also outside camps and above the camps. Under these circumstances Khrushchev's statement against the so-called "blocs" inevitably gives rise to two conclusions:

On the one hand, it is clear that Khrushchev fully accepts Tito's reactionary position, regarding the socialist camp as "a military bloc," as a negative phenomenon that has led to the aggravation of the international situation and as a something "temporary."

On the other hand, in this way N. Khrushchev supports and justifies the demagogic maneuvers of the Tito clique about the so-called "neutrality" and "non-alignment" of Yugoslavia. But how can there be a country which is socialist and at the same time "neutral" in the great historic struggle between the two camps, the socialist and imperialist camp? There was a time when Khrushchev himself condemned and rejected this absurd pretension of the Tito clique: "The Yugoslav leaders," he declared at the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "claim that they stand outside blocs, above the camps, although in fact they take part in the Balkan bloc, which consists of Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece.... The leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists consider themselves highly insulted when we tell them that they are sitting on two stools. They assure us that they are sitting on their own Yugoslav stool. However, this Yugoslav stool seems to be largely supported by the U.S. monopolies. And precisely for this reason, this position 'outside blocs,' the neutrality to which the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are so attached, has a strong smell of the U.S. monopolies, which are fostering "Yugoslav socialism." The history of the class struggle still knows of no example in which the bourgeoisie has supported its class enemy materially or morally, and assisted it to build socialism."

Thus Khrushchev has now decided to cancel out the existence of the socialist camp and does not hesitate to come out openly against it. Here we have to do not only with a major concession of principle to Tito's revisionist and anti-socialist positions, but also with a real betrayal of the vital interests of socialism, with an attempt to undermine the socialist camp itself and to liquidate it.

In the context of his activities to undermine and split the socialist camp, the International Communist Movement and their unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, Khrushchev deemed it necessary to revive the idea of pan-slavism during his visit to Yugoslavia. From the very first day he spoke of "our traditional friendship," "our common historical destiny" and "our common final goal," in this way implying and stressing the special links between peoples of the same ethnic group. This is not the first time that the Khrushchev group, departing from the Marxist-Leninist class position, has tried to build its political platform regarding the relations between states and parties on such ethnic, racial and even religious grounds, even going so far as to make one effort after another for rapprochement with the Pope of Rome in order to win the support of Catholics. But to replace the class principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism with pan-slavism or with other similar non-Marxist ideas means to undermine the very foundations on which the workers' international solidarity and unity, and the relations among the peoples of the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' parties are based. It means to degrade and seriously damage the cause of socialism. This is one of the many proofs of the complete and hopeless ideopolitical degeneration of the Khrushchev group.

Moreover, Khrushchev did not fail to assign a special, if not a decisive, role to Yugoslavia in the Balkans and even in the world.

It was for this purpose that in his speech at Velenja, he extolled in a one-sided way the fight of the Yugoslav peoples against the fascist invaders, while deliberately denigrating the great contribution of the other Balkan peoples in the anti-fascist war. Of course, the peoples of Yugoslavia waged a really heroic war for the liberation of their country, but the other Balkan peoples, also, were in the thick of it and shed a lot of blood in that war. The setting of one people against another, the tendentious praising of the fight of one people and the deliberate ignoring of the contribution and the struggle of other peoples, which Khrushchev resorted to, reveals once again his aims of disruption and provocation by inciting the nationalist and chauvinist passions of the friends he supports. Khrushchev also took the opportunity to encourage Tito's old dream of a special role in the Balkans, of his hegemony in some sort of "Balkan federation." Thus during this visit Khrushchev revealed himself nakedly to be the complete Machiavelli, politically and morally.

Khrushchev and Tito puffed themselves up by posing as masters of the fate of the Balkans. When a foreign journalist asked them about this in Brioni, observers could not fail to notice Khrushchev's angry reaction, when he said, "Why do you stick your nose into our affairs?" Just what lies hidden behind the phrase "our affairs" was revealed by the British News Agency Reuters, which wrote on August 18, "The possibility of new Balkan projects, in which Yugoslavia would play a primary role, cannot be ruled out." The peoples of the Balkans are justified in asking: Since when have the affairs of the Balkans become the private business of Khrushchev and Tito? Who gave them the monopoly of the right to speak and act in the name of the Balkan peoples, to make deals and divide the roles behind their backs and to their detriment?

But what is this Tito clique to which Khrushchev wants "to entrust the fate of the Balkans"? And what is the "special role" which Khrushchev has assigned to it? Our people, as well as the other peoples of the Balkans, are very well acquainted with the features of this gang of renegades and agents of imperialism, we are well aware of their intentions and role. Are we, perhaps, to forget the active role of the Tito clique in the Hungarian counterrevolution? Can it be, that the subversive and conspiratorial activity of the Yugoslav revisionist agents, which have been detected and exposed time after time, in Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and Romania, have been forgotten so soon? The Albanian people will never forget the betrayal and plot by Koci Xoxe and others, the plot hatched up by the Yugoslav revisionists in collaboration with the Greek monarcho-fascists, the U.S. 6th Fleet, and some traitors against the sovereignty of our country, nor will they forget the numerous acts of provocation and hostility against the People's Republic of Albania and our people.

Tito accompanied his "Dear Friend" to the vicinity of the northern borders of our homeland in a demonstrative way. Khrushchev did not go to Titograd to pay a "passing" visit to the ethnographic museum of Cetinje and see the relics of Njegoj. He inspected the Albanian-Yugoslav border, in order to express in this way his support and approval of the profoundly hostile stand and intentions towards our people of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders who are notorious for the attempts they have made on the freedom and the independence of our socialist homeland.

It is clear that "the special role" of Titoite Yugoslavia in the Balkans, indeed in the world, is directed against the vital interests of the socialist camp and the International Communist Movement, that its aim is to undermine and split them, and that this is a component part of the campaign of the Khrushchev-Tito revisionist united front against those fraternal parties which firmly uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, first and foremost, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania. The clearest evidence of this is the fact that Khrushchev's entire visit to Yugoslavia was accompanied by a frenzied campaign of monstrous, coordinated attacks launched by Khrushchev and Tito and others against the Marxist-Leninist parties.

Third main conclusion to be drawn from Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia is that he has moved closer to the imperialists, particularly to the U.S. imperialists.

It is a publicly known fact--and Tito has more than once confirmed it by his own words--that "socialist" Yugoslavia has become a "bridge between the East and the West." Khrushchev is now openly using this "bridge" not just to make approaches to, but actually to cross over to the West.

The establishment of a direct line of telephone communication between the Kremlin and the White House was recently inaugurated. This line is called "the hot line," through which Khrushchev may talk directly to Kennedy and carry on further negotiations at the expense of the peoples. But Khrushchev and Kennedy also have a living telephone "line," Tito, who provides good service in a "creative way," to their common purpose.

Expressing his great satisfaction over the conclusion of the Tripartite Moscow Agreement, which is another capitulation of the Khrushchev group to the imperialists, a fraud and a betrayal of the cause of socialism, Tito said in his speech at the banquet given by Khrushchev on August 21, "of course this is still insufficient. Much still remains to be done...." Tito, the inveterate agent of imperialism, is not satisfied with the results achieved, he wants further steps to be taken along the road which he long ago made clear to his revisionist colleagues. This is the road to the "economic and political integration of the world," in other words, the road towards the gradual and peaceful integration of socialism into capitalism about which Kennedy has spoken.

In analyzing Khrushchev's public utterances in Yugoslavia, everybody notices that he not only refrained from attacking U. S. imperialism openly, but did not refer to it even once by name. He confined himself to the usual terms of the revisionists regarding "the most aggressive circles of imperialism" and very rarely at that. The AFP News Agency pointed out, "This moderation of language can be explained of course, by Khrushchev's desire to maintain the tone of 'peaceful coexistence,' and also to avoid placing the Yugoslavs in an embarrassing position with regard to Washington." But this is not all. Khrushchev did not make any open attack against the imperialists, because his views regarding imperialism in general, and U.S. imperialism in particular, are the same as those of Tito, and because he has now set out on the road to full reconciliation and rapprochement with the imperialists. Western observers pointed out on this occasion, not without justification, that while awaiting the decision of the U.S. Congress on the reestablishment of the "most favored nation" clause in the trade relations with Yugoslav, Tito will have something to report and bring as compensation to President Kennedy at the White House on the occasion of the trip he is to make to Latin America soon, that is, the new and more moderate attitude of Khrushchev.

The attitude of the Tito clique towards U. S. imperialism and the attitude of U. S. imperialism towards the Tito clique is no secret to anyone. Their relations are like those of master and servant. It is clear that the approach to and unity with the servant and agent of imperialism, who is nurtured and kept on his feet by U. S. dollars, is a big step towards approach to and unity with his master, U. S. imperialism. Everybody sees this. They see and condemn this open betrayal by Khrushchev who, by uniting with Tito, is rolling out the carpet in anticipation of the not so far distant day when the imperialists and the revisionists will celebrate Khrushchev's complete rapprochement with John Kennedy. The facts are now so clear that it is difficult even for those who, for some time, have made it their habit to follow Khrushchev in his great betrayal, to refuse to see it. A truly great responsibility towards their parties, their peoples and the International Communist Movement falls on those leaders who have had and still have reservations about Tito particularly, and about what Khrushchev and Tito are doing and yet who keep silent, who are afraid to say what they think and dare not express their opinion. Embracing Tito leads to embracing Kennedy as well. Are all those leaders who call themselves communists, but who remain silent, in favor of this, too? The Khrushchev group is trying to persuade the communists and the people that unity with Titoite Yugoslavia means unity with socialist and anti-imperialist forces and is in the interests of the socialist camp and the International Communist Movement.

In order to judge whether this union really has such a character or not, let us look at how the West reacted to Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia and whether the capitalist world was perturbed by the "new rapprochement" of Belgrade with Moscow.

The facts show that, far from being disconcerted, the West and the imperialist powers received this visit with lively interest and welcomed it. In one of its reports from Belgrade, the WASHINGTON POST said, "Western diplomats are pleased with the tone and results of the talks between Tito and Khrushchev." Therefore, Washington did not cut off its credits to Tito over his "rapprochement with Moscow," but, on the contrary, is taking steps to increase them.

This fact alone is sufficient to prove how false is Khrushchev's demagogic prattle that unity with Tito clique allegedly means unity with the socialist and anti-imperialist forces. If it were so, if this unity were spearheaded against imperialism, then we would not be hearing praises and congratulations from the imperialists from the Yugoslav road and the rapprochement of the Tito clique with Khrushchev, but should be hearing those same anti-socialist and counterrevolutionary attacks which the imperialists usually aim against their class enemy--the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist Party and the socialist and anti-imperialist forces of the world.

From this it is not difficult to understand who will benefit from such rapprochement and unity. The imperialists have good reason to welcome and support it, because they see in this unity the establishment of a united revisionist front against socialism and all the forces of the world revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement.

The fact that Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia ended with no big rally in Belgrade or final statement or communique must attract attention. This is by no means accidental, because, although it was officially announced that Khrushchev went to Yugoslavia for a holiday, Khrushchev and Tito themselves stressed, more than once, that this visit had been turned into a working visit. In reality, this was the only possible conclusion to talks between Tito and Khrushchev in this situation.

Both Tito and Khrushchev are very fond of publicity. They would have liked to consecrate their complete unity publicly, but at the same time the matter required them to restrain themselves to avoid openly disclosing their card and damaging their position.

Tito, of course, was the more interested in holding a rally and having official documents published because he would have liked to see the Moscow Declaration torn up officially, to see the final seal put on his complete rehabilitation, Yugoslav "specific socialism" given the "right of citizenship" and the League of Yugoslav Communists finally included in the ranks of the International Communist Movement as a "Marxist-Leninist Party" and to have their joint views on present world development and the problems of the International Communist Movement sanctioned. In other words, Tito would have liked everything Khrushchev said in secret talks and publicly in support of the Yugoslav leaders and about their common concepts to be proclaimed in a joint official document.

But Khrushchev still feels obliged to keep up his disguise, because however carefully a joint official document was drawn up, it would still be in flagrant opposition to the Moscow Declaration. Khrushchev is obliged to resort to maneuver and deceit while still trying to hide behind the Moscow Declaration.

He calculated that the work must be done, that is, Tito must be rehabilitated, the Moscow Declaration violated, his activities coordinated with the Yugoslav revisionists and plots hatched up together with them, but all this cannot yet be sanctioned by any official document, which would be another powerful weapon in the hands of the Marxist-Leninist.

Tito's dissatisfaction on this issue could be clearly understood from his farewell speech at the airport. While Khrushchev confined his speech to generalities, Tito concretely defined the results of the visit and the talks with his guest. He enumerated the points on which they agreed, and did this in such a way as to leave no doubt that he intended to remind his friend of the pledges he had made during his visit and to advise him not to forget them.

These are the main results of Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia and his talks with the Tito clique.

The whole world is becoming more and more convinced that with his policy of unity with the Belgrade renegades and his rapprochement with the imperialists, Khrushchev is betraying the Soviet people and the other peoples of the socialist countries, the International Communist Movement and the national liberation and anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the world. Khrushchev had the audacity to say at Brioni, "I have something to boast about." True enough. He could "boast" that he is carrying out the aims of the rabid class enemies of socialism and the Soviet Union, he could boast that he is seriously endangering the achievements of the great October Socialist Revolution, that he is wrecking the socialist camp and splitting the International Communist Movement for the benefit of international reaction and U. S. imperialism.

But the peoples and history will not forget and will not forgive him. The Soviet peoples who have emerged triumphant from many severe trials in their history, their Communist Party, the other peoples, the Communists and revolutionaries of the world will not forget and will never forgive Khrushchev for his high treason to Marxism-Leninism, the international working class, the peoples, socialism and peace.

Keeping their revolutionary vigilance, their spirit of proletarian internationalism and unbounded loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the proletariat and the people at a high level, true Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries will fight selflessly and with determination against modern revisionism, for the preservation of the purity of the Leninist teachings, and against imperialism and reaction for the triumph of socialism, communism and peace in the world.

BULGARIA

TODOROV TOAST AT OFFICIAL DINNER FOR HUNGARY'S LAZAR

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Sep 77 p 2 AU

[Apparent text of toast by Stanko Todorov, chairman of Bulgarian Council of Ministers, at 1 September official dinner in honor of Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of Hungarian Council of Ministers]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Lazar, dear Hungarian friends, comrades, every one of our meetings and every Bulgarian-Hungarian initiative are illuminated by the ancient friendship and solid socialist comradeship between our peoples. According to the old Hungarian proverb: "A friend is more precious than gold." Therefore, it is only natural that our present talks are taking place in an atmosphere of friendship and are inspired by the striving to find new, ever more perfect forms of cooperation.

Together with you, Comrade Lazar, we noted with satisfaction that our friendship and fraternal cooperation are acquiring new and greater dimensions, and are constantly developing and strengthening on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Our first leaders--Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Janos Kadar--are the inspirers of the BCP and MSZMP course of dynamic development.

The new and fraternal relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic are a wonderful confirmation of the vitality of the socialist regime, a regime founded 60 years ago by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The trade exchange between our two countries has developed significantly in recent years. Specialization and industrial production-sharing have expanded and developed, and cooperation in the areas of culture, education and tourism is fruitful.

All this facilitates the solving of our national and international tasks. Therefore, we are not satisfied with what has been achieved and will search and skillfully apply new and more effective forms and methods of our joint activity in our mutual cooperation as well as in integration within CEMA. Our strong friendship and unity with the great and powerful USSR is a decisive factor in our upsurge.

The Bulgarian people follow with great interest and sincerely rejoice at the great successes of the fraternal Hungarian people in the construction of socialism under the leadership of the MSZMP. They rejoice at the MSZMP's active international activity aimed at strengthening peace and cooperation in Europe and the world in the spirit of the Helsinki Conference final act. The life of the Bulgarian people is also intensive and fruitful. Our efforts, will and energy are aimed at new summits in the economic and social development of socialist Bulgaria. We are striving to make our economy more effective, to introduce on a broad scale scientific-technical progress in production and to increase the material and cultural well-being of our working people. Our foreign policy is inspired by the principles of proletarian internationalism and peace.

Our joint and consistent struggle for lasting peace and the security of the peoples and the coordinated policy of the Warsaw Pact member-countries find a broad and favorable response among the thinking people of the world. Unfortunately, there are still influential political circles in the West who are doing everything possible to poison the atmosphere of mutual understanding and stop the process of detente, which is being felt more and more in our continent.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is wholeheartedly supporting the USSR initiatives for convening a special UN session on questions of disarmament and for taking concrete measures for arms limitation and is raising a voice of protest against the production of the most antihuman weapon--the neutron bomb.

Dear comrades, I believe that you will agree with me that the present meeting is a further step in further strengthening the friendship between the Bulgarian and Hungarian peoples and in strengthening peace in Europe and the world.

Allow me to offer a toast:

--To the fraternal friendship between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic!

--To the fraternal friendship and cooperation of our countries with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community!

--To the health of Janos Kadar, MSZMP first secretary!

--To your health Comrade Lazar!

--To the health of all those attending the dinner!

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV GREETES INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CONGRESS

Sofia BTA Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1650 GMT 5 Sep 77 AU

[BTA correspondent Leon Adzheman report on the opening of the 33d Congress of the International Institute of State Finances at the "International" Motel in Varna, at which Todor Zhivkov greeting letter was read]

[Text] Varna, 5 Sep--At the "International" Motel in the "Golden Sands" resort this afternoon the 33d Congress of the International Institute of State Finances opened. Representatives of 45 countries from Europe, America, Africa and Asia, as well as leading officials of the institute, headed by its chairman Jack (?Utesman) from Great Britain are participating in the congress. In his short speech Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, stressed the great importance which the Bulgarian Government attaches to the problems submitted to the 33d congress for debate and wished useful work to the delegates and guests. He read the following letter of greetings by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, which was heard with great attention by the participants in the congress:

"Esteemed participants in the 33d Congress of the International Institute of State Finances, it is a pleasure for me to most sincerely welcome you on behalf of the State Council and government of the Bulgarian People's Republic and on my own behalf and to wish you useful work in your high-ranking scientific forum.

"The congresses of the International Institute of State Finances are traditionally devoted to important financial problems and the reports and discussions at such congresses contribute to a creative exchange of ideas and opinions, to the establishment of useful contacts.

"Along with its activities in the sector of finance and credit, your institute also opens opportunities for cooperation among the representatives of financial theory on our planet for the sake of peace, security and understanding among peoples. This is why I am convinced that we will unanimously agree in stressing that your activities, too, represent confirmation once more of the urgent necessity for the triumph of the ideas and spirit of Helsinki in our time.

"The process of detente creates opportunities for the solution of topical worldwide problems in the interests of all nations. The Bulgarian People's Republic, as well as the other countries belonging to the socialist community, is sincerely interested in expanding and intensifying foreign economic relations on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage, the consolidation of peace, the strengthening of the system of international relations and their reorganization on a democratic and just foundation will permit us to essentially reduce the expenditure of nonproductive financial resources in the arms race. It is only under conditions of peace, mutual trust and mutual cooperation that the creative forces can be utilized, that finance and all other means can be placed at the service and benefit of the present and future generations. I am deeply convinced that our position is in agreement with the basic interests of all countries and peoples, in the interest of mankind's peace and socioeconomic progress.

"The 33d Congress of the International Institute of State Finances is holding its session in the Bulgarian People's Republic, a country that is consistently defending the interests of peace and international cooperation. I believe that the creative debates during this congress will contribute to a comprehensive and thorough discussion of topical finance and credit problems, to the further development of financial theory and practice and to the expansion of peaceful contacts--economic, scientific and cultural--among the countries of all continents. I believe that these debates will contribute to the further dynamic increase of social production and to the improvement of the peoples' prosperity.

"I am convinced that the International Institute of State Finances with its 33d congress and with all its future activities will also in the future continue to make its valuable contribution to the lofty humanitarian cause of peace and cooperation among states based on equal rights, to the general improvement of the international atmosphere and to the consolidation of international security, as well as to the well-being and happiness of the peoples.

"Once more I wish you creative work, success and a pleasant stay in the sunny and hospitable Bulgarian People's Republic, a country reborn, thanks to socialism."

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

COMMUNIQUE ON VISIT OF HUNGARY'S GYORGY LAZAR

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Sep 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Apparent text of communique on 1-2 September visit to Bulgaria of Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic]

[Text] Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, paid a friendly and businesslike visit to Bulgaria on 1 and 2 September at the invitation of Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic Council of Ministers.

Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian People's Republic Council of Ministers, was received by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council, and had a cordial and friendly talk with him.

The chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the two fraternal countries briefed each other on the implementation of the decisions of the 11th BCP and 11th MSZMP congresses. They evaluated highly the remarkable successes of the two fraternal peoples in the construction of the developed socialist society in their countries.

The leaders of the two governments noted with satisfaction that bilateral relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic, based on Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are developing in the interest of the two peoples and of the peoples of the socialist community.

The importance was stressed of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic, which is a solid basis for the development of comprehensive relations between the two countries.

It was stressed that the meetings at the highest level between party-state delegations of the two countries and the negotiations between Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State

Council, and Comrade Janos Kadar, MSZMP Central Committee first secretary, play an exceptionally important role in strengthening and developing the fraternal friendship and close cooperation between the two parties and peoples. It was noted that the decisions taken during the visit of the Bulgarian party-state delegation to Hungary in 1973 are being successfully implemented.

The leaders of the two governments expressed their mutual striving for a further strengthening of the comprehensive cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic, on a bilateral as well as multilateral basis within CEMA. The leaders of the two governments evaluated highly the decisions of the 31st CEMA session and stressed the important role to be played by the long-term cooperation plans which are now being worked out. New and important steps for a successful implementation of the CEMA comprehensive program of socialist integration were made by the coordination of the 1976-80 national economic plans.

The chairmen of the two Councils of Ministers discussed concrete measures for the further dynamic development of the economic relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic.

The activity of the joint Bulgarian-Hungarian commission on economic and scientific-technical cooperation received a positive evaluation. Further successes in the area of specialization and industrial production-sharing were achieved at its 15th session in June 1977. Simultaneously, it was noted that there are possibilities for greater development of economic cooperation, in accordance with the developing economic and scientific potential of the two countries. The development of the mutual trade exchange was evaluated as successful. The main questions of long-term cooperation were discussed, and the main trends of coordinating the national economic plans for 1981-1985 outlined.

The Bulgarian People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic will further actively implement cooperation in the area of culture, science and education.

The two sides exchanged opinions on a wide spectrum of international questions. They noted with satisfaction that detente is a constant feature of the present international situation, in which the peaceloving foreign policy of the USSR, the countries of the socialist community and the progressive forces of the world play a decisive part.

The stepped-up activities of the enemies of the policy of peaceful coexistence require further efforts in the struggle for the irreversibility and durability of the process of detente.

The leaders of the two governments stressed the significance of the unconditional implementation of the Helsinki Conference final act for

strengthening the peace in Europe as well as for the bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation of the European countries, the United States and Canada. They stressed that the Belgrade meeting must facilitate mutual understanding and confidence among the states and peoples.

The chairmen of the two Councils of Ministers stressed the importance of negotiations [as published, presumably "measures"] on reducing armed forces and armaments in central Europe and the significance of the related Vienna negotiations. The sides maintain that the agreement to be reached at these negotiations must be based on equality and mutual security.

In accordance with BCP and MSZMP policy, the sides attribute great importance to strengthening the cohesion of the socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They will cooperate also in the future for further developing and perfecting the cooperation of the fraternal countries within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

The leaders of the two governments highly evaluate the implementation of the pledges of the two countries' working peoples in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which has world historic significance.

The talks between the two government leaders took place in the traditionally friendly and comradely atmosphere with complete unity of views, and contributed significantly to further strengthening the fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the two countries.

Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian People's Republic Council of Ministers, invited Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic Council of Ministers, to pay a friendly and businesslike visit to the Hungarian People's Republic. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV SPEAKS AT AWARD CEREMONY FOR TSEDENBAL

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Aug 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Speech by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, delivered in Sofia on 30 August at a ceremony on presenting the Georgi Dimitrov Order to Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, MPRP Central Committee first secretary and Great People's Hural Presidium chairman]

[Text] Dear Comrade Tsedenbal, I present to you with great joy and special pleasure the order bearing the image of the great son of the Bulgarian people, noteworthy worker of the international communist and workers movement and consistent internationalist Georgi Dimitrov.

The State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic is awarding you this highest order of our country for the second time on the occasion of your 60th birthday and for your great services in the struggle for peace and social progress in the world and your personal contribution to developing and strengthening friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], between our two parties and between the Bulgarian and Mongolian peoples.

Please, allow me, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Bulgarian People's Government to cordially congratulate you with this deserved award, Comrade Tsedenbal, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee first secretary and Great People's Hural Presidium chairman, glorious son of the Mongolian people, eminent figure of the international communist and workers movement and our close friend and loyal associate.

For more than 3 decades you have led the MPRP and devoted your creative strength, energy and knowledge to its great cause--building socialism in your country. You are skillfully directing and most actively participating in the elaboration and implementation of your party's strategic line for deep socioeconomic reforms of the country and in raising the material and cultural standards of the Mongolian people.

We highly appraise, Comrade Tsedenbal, your individual part in the theoretical generalization of the MPR's achievements connected with the

Leninist behest on the transition period from feudalism to socialism and on building a new society under the conditions in Mongolia.

Not only during the years of suffering which your country has undergone but also during the period of peaceful socialist building you, the ardent consistent internationalist-Leninist, have always followed and are following a course toward comprehensively strengthening and developing the unbreakable friendship between the Mongolian and the Soviet peoples, toward expanding and deepening the friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the socialist community and toward consolidating the unity and cohesion of the international communist and workers movement.

In you we greet a fighter for the purity of our great communist behest against opportunism, revisionism and anticomunism as well as for unmasking anti-Sovietism and illuminating the great historic significance of the successes achieved by real socialism.

Under your direct leadership, the MPRP and the MPR are following a consistent course against the anti-people's policy of the world reactionary forces as well as for deepening the process of international detente, consolidating the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and strengthening peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

Your long and fruitful work in implementing the foreign political line of the MPRP and the MPR contributed to an international recognition of socialist Mongolia and also to increasing its prestige in the world arena.

Along with the eminent leaders of the Mongolian people Sukhebator and Marshal Choibalsan, you have rendered particular service to implementing on Mongolian land the great ideas of the October Socialist Revolution whose 60th anniversary will soon be celebrated with great enthusiasm by the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist community and by all progressive mankind.

Esteemed Comrade Tsedenbal, the award which we present to you today is a symbol, for all of us, of our mutual Leninist friendship. I can emphasize with pleasure that this friendship is developing and expanding in a stronger and more fruitful manner with each passing day. This is the friendship for which the most valiant sons of the Bulgarian and Mongolian peoples have dreamed. This is a friendship for which you and I, Comrade Tsedenbal, have always worked and are working for in a loyal, confident and heartfelt manner.

In presenting the Georgi Dimitrov Order to you, I, on behalf of the communist and working people in Bulgaria, again wish you good health, a long and fruitful life and further success in your noble work for the prosperity of the Mongolian people, further deepening Bulgarian-Mongolian friendship and cooperation, for our unbreakable brotherhood with the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and for the triumph of peace and socialism in the world.

Congratulations!

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

MONGOLIA'S TSEDENBAL SPEAKS AT AWARD CEREMONY IN SOFIA

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Aug 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Speech by Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, MPRP Central Committee first secretary and Great People's Hural Presidium chairman, delivered in Sofia on 30 August at a ceremony on being awarded with G. Dimitrov order by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman]

[Text] Dear Comrade Todor Zhivkov and dear Bulgarian friends, I accept with tremendous joy and genuine emotion this highest award of your country, named after that great son of the Bulgarian people, the tested leader of the BCP and of the Bulgarian workers class and eminent worker of the international communist and workers movement Georgi Dimitrov.

Please allow me to express to the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the government of the Bulgarian People's Republic and to you personally, dear Comrade Zhivkov, my deep gratitude for the high honor accorded me on being presented the highest Bulgarian People's Republic award--the Georgi Dimitrov Order.

For us, the Mongolian communists, and for all fighters for the victory of peace, socialism and democracy, Georgi Dimitrov's name is a symbol of unbounded loyalty to the struggle by the workers class, to the all-victorious ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and to the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The selfless struggle of the Bulgarian people and of their militant vanguard, the BCP, against the bourgeoisie, against monarchism, reaction and fascism as well as for building a new society in the country is closely connected with the name and work of Georgi Dimitrov.

The life and work of Georgi Dimitrov, an ardent revolutionary-internationalist, are also closely connected with the struggle of the international communist and workers movement, with the struggle to rally the revolutionary and democratic forces, and for the bright future of mankind.

We are pleased to know that the struggle for which Georgi Dimitrov fought, defended and devoted his life to was victorious in Bulgaria and that this victory was also expressed in the achievements of the peoples of the rest of the socialist countries as well as in the successes of the international communist and workers movement.

The internationalism of Georgi Dimitrov and of the Bulgarian communists lives in the relations among our Marxist-Leninist parties and in our deep solidarity with the Soviet Union, with the Leninist party--the CPSU.

I am pleased to note that I receive the Georgi Dimitrov Order in a jubilee year--the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution--in the year when the birthday of the eminent worker of the Bulgarian and international communist and workers movement Vasil Kolarov was marked, who, like Georgi Dimitrov, also rendered invaluable assistance to our party and to the development of the Mongolian people along the path to building a new society.

I accept this highest award of your country, the Georgi Dimitrov Order, as a symbol of our unbreakable fraternal friendship and of the close cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples and also as an expression of the deep respect of the BCP, the government and people of socialist Bulgaria toward the MPRP and the Mongolian people.

I would like to emphasize with particular pleasure that by developing our country along the path to socialism and resolving the complicated problems of our economic and cultural building, we have always met with the friendly aid and support of our loyal friend--the fraternal Bulgarian People's Republic.

I firmly believe that the Leninist friendship of our peoples with the motherland of the Great October--the powerful Soviet Union--and with the rest of the socialist countries, and the comprehensive cooperation between our countries will produce more fruitful results in the interest of our common goal--building a socialist society.

Please allow me to assure you dear Comrade Zhivkov, eminent leader of our fraternal party and of socialist Bulgaria, close friend of the Mongolian people, that, loyal to the unbreakable Mongolian-Bulgarian friendship, the Mongolian communists and working people will continue to spare no efforts, according to their possibilities, to develop and deepen the close ties between the MPRP and the BCP, between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Bulgarian People's Republic. They will also steadily struggle to strengthen the unity of the socialist countries and rally the forces of peace so that the immortal Marxist-Leninist ideas can be victorious.

I again express cordial gratitude for the high award presented to me and also wish you, dear friends of the BCP Central Committee, the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council and Council of Ministers and the Bulgarian people, further great successes in fulfilling the historic 11th BCP Congress decisions and in the struggle for peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

BULGARIA

DAILY REVIEWS CUSTOMS AUTHORITIES ACTIVITIES

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 30 Aug 77 p 2 AU

[Article by A. Vasilev: "The Quiet Front Called Customs"]

[Excerpts] From the beginning of the current year our customs authorities activity has improved considerably. Their informative and analytical work related to the importing and exporting of goods by persons at the borders has also improved. The check points have been equipped with modern technical means.

There are less pleasant meetings with smugglers and traveling "businessmen" at the quiet front called customs. As a result of these meetings, smuggled goods valued at 2,225,000 leva have been confiscated. Fines totaling 304,000 leva have been imposed and customs duty of 125,000 leva collected. According to data supplied by the prosecutor's office goods of general value of more than 500,000 leva have been held by the customs authorities. Unfortunately, 2,000 Bulgarians and 1,000 foreigners have been caught for currency violations. The customs authorities of Sofia Airport are in first place in catching currency violators. They have caught 700 violators.

The number of hiding places for narcotics that have been caught also increased. The number of smuggling attempts caught in trains has also increased. The record, however, belongs to the automobiles. Most cases involve the smuggling of 10-100 kg (51 cases) and 1-10 kg (40 cases) [not further specified]. As is already known, 1,500 kg of hashish and 7 kg of opium were caught at Kalotina in a smuggling attempt by two Austrian subjects. Most cases of narcotics smuggling have been caught at Svilengrad--72 cases. However, even in a remote place such as Tolbukhin, our customs authorities caught citizens smuggling 8,145 kg of hashish and 3,190 kg of morphine.

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MLYNAR INTERVIEWED BY DUTCH JOURNALIST ON CHARTER 77

Rome LISTY in Czech No 3-4, Jul 77 pp 22-24

[Interview with Zdenek Mlynar prior to his departure from Czechoslovakia by Dutch journalist J. Huf: "Interview with Zdenek Mlynar on the Situation of Charter 77"]

[Text] [Question] What future and what possibilities do you foresee for the further activity of Charter 77?

[Answer] It would be a mistake to estimate the real impact of Charter 77 solely according to the number of signatures which were, or will be, published. In an atmosphere in which, from the moment of the publication of the Charter, repression has been applied against all its signatories--from police actions through dismissals from their jobs up to the persecution of their family members--it cannot be expected that every follower of Charter 77 would admit that he signed it. Charter 77 today is alive already, mostly in other ways. Tens of thousands of people have read it, copied it and duplicated its text. They are passing it on to their friends and acquaintances. Thus, in completely informal contacts which the police cannot intercept, the demands of Charter 77 are spreading further and further in our entire society. It is far from being a concern of a certain stratum, for example, of the intelligentsia. Neither is it a concern of a specific political group, for instance, of the communists expelled from the CPCZ after 1968. In every place of work, very often amongst the workers, and distinctly everywhere amongst the youth, Charter 77 has stirred an interest in something that the government had in fact officially taken upon itself by recognizing that the International Covenants on Human Rights applies also to Czechoslovakia. Tens of thousands of individuals began to realize that the practical experience of their daily life is in contradiction with daily obligations. Every person knows from his own nearest surroundings cases of arbitrariness and anti-legal actions committed by the political power. The purpose of Charter 77 was to stir up civic initiative which would lead to the people's active criticism of any kind of arbitrariness on the part of that power. And that has already been completely successful and will be successful in the future. Charter 77 did not intend to become--nor can it become--an organization, if it is

not to be immediately prohibited. It intended to become and still is an open civic involvement. It is alive because tens of thousands of individuals have become aware of their rights and will go on fighting against the denial of these rights by the political power. That power will discredit itself in the eyes of the people even more by the way it slanders, persecutes and discriminates against those who openly joined the Charter by signing it. Thus, it will further expand the chasm between the political dictatorship and the citizens desirous of political democracy. The more brutally it will act, the greater its moral defeat and the more distinctive the moral victory of Charter 77.

Charter 77 cannot prevent the power from brutally persecuting hundreds of its own followers. Already it seems certain that the government is not, and will not be, willing to discuss the question of human rights. The citizens can see, however, that the power would not discuss it simply because it is lacking arguments against the criticism expressed in Charter 77, that it is afraid to publish the text of the Charter and that, for that reason, the official propaganda is untruthfully claiming that Charter 77 "has defamed the achievements of socialism," etc.--although the Charter contains nothing of the sort. Thus, although Charter 77 cannot act as an organized movement, it will remain a permanent factor with which the power must count. This may not seem much, if we look at the matters from the point of view of conditions normal for a political democracy. From that point of view it certainly is not much. However, from the viewpoint of real opportunities which any critical movement enjoys under regimes of political dictatorship, it is far from negligible. In Czechoslovakia after 1969 it may be the most important achievement in stirring up the citizen to a critical involvement.

[Question] Which methods of persecution and discrimination against the Charter 77 followers do you consider the most significant, particularly for the future?

[Answer] The most drastic, of course, is the imprisonment of several supporters of Charter 77. All possible actions must be taken here and abroad for the release of those individuals. Officially the authorities may claim that these citizens are not prosecuted by the law because of Charter 77. If they are brought finally to court, obviously some other charges will be construed against them. It is quite indisputable, however, that if Charter 77 were not published, Jiri Lederer and the others quite certainly would not be in prison today. Only the necessity to intimidate the people after the publication of Charter 77 led to their imprisonment. Political trials, however, are not and will not be the principal method of persecution. The main, and now already broadly applied, form of reprisal involves the restrictions of work opportunities. In about 12 cases the Charter 77 signatories have been fired from their jobs on the spot; in scores of other cases they are being dismissed now with several months' notice. And in every case probably they are, or will be, affected by being forced to take even more demeaning jobs with lower rank and smaller wages than they have had.

The people in the West cannot imagine what it means to be dismissed from a job for political reasons in a political system of the type as in Czechoslovakia. The people think that if one is fired from his job by one employer, sooner or later he will be hired by another employer after all. Yet in our country there is in fact only one employer, namely, the state. Thus, if the state political police blacklists someone as politically dangerous, that person will not get any job without the agreement of the police or political organs. No man or women who signed the Charter will be hired, not even as a boiler attendant, not even as a charwoman, if the political and police organs blacklist them. In every place of work, references from the previous employment are required, and there the reason for dismissal from employment is permanently stated: hostile anti-state activity demonstrated by signing Charter 77.

Persons thus persecuted cannot even claim any unemployment benefits. They cannot live, for example, on the aid which might be offered out of sympathy by their friends. Pursuant to Czechoslovak laws, that would constitute a criminal act of parasitism. Therefore, in the end they must take precisely that kind of work which the power organs have assigned to them. In fact, it is a way of condemning people to forced labor without any trial, and without any stipulation of the term of their sentence, perhaps for life.

Only those who know and understand all that can appreciate the total horror of such persecution. However, because it is little known and understood abroad, this kind of persecution continues on a mass scale and in general, without any protests from the public opinion in the West. For the same reason, among other things, this is, and certainly will continue to be, the principal method of reprisals against the defenders of human rights in Czechoslovakia.

Another circumstance also is hard to understand in the West, namely, that people thus fired from work are at the same time expelled from the trade union. Because in Czechoslovakia there is only one such organization, only one labor union, at the very moment when they lose their jobs they also find themselves unable to apply to the labor union for defense of their rights. I wrote a letter about these facts to the secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague. Of course, there was no answer. Therefore, I am taking this opportunity to ask labor unions in Europe that they themselves address these questions to the Czechoslovak trade union as well as to the World Federation of Trade Unions. Perhaps someone will finally have to reply to them.

[Question] How would you evaluate the importance of the aid rendered to the defenders of human rights in Czechoslovakia by the public opinion, press, organizations and governments in the West?

[Answer] I believe that without their aid the defenders of human rights in our country would be much worse off than they are now. That is my general observation. However, the actual situation is far more complicated.

It is quite self-evident that even political movements which really are not concerned with a more perfect and better socialism in this country, but which are pursuing their own aims that are reactionary from our point of view, are trying to exploit the fact that human rights are being violated in Czechoslovakia. The political power in our country then blames for that the victims of its own violence who are boldly protesting. Its propaganda describes the situation as though the attacks against socialism were motivated by the Charter 77 signatories who are speaking up about violations of human rights in socialism, and thus, it conceals the fact that the reason has been provided by the political dictatorship which acts arbitrarily and brutally even under socialism, in the same way as do political dictatorships in other socio-economic systems. It is true that we cannot welcome every kind of help from abroad. Thus, for example, if the well known U.S. labor union spokesman George Meany requested Czechoslovakia's expulsion from the United Nations because of the treatment of the Charter 77 followers in this country, we must regard that as a considerable amount of political demagoguery. Human rights are not being violated in Czechoslovakia only; conflicts between the government and the citizens occurred to various extents in many countries, not the least of which was the United States, and yet nobody called that those countries be expelled from the United Nations for that reason. Therefore, who really wants to help the defenders of human rights in Czechoslovakia should do so without any ulterior motives which have nothing in common with human rights. I think that a great majority of the voices of democratic public opinion is truly doing exactly that. Personally I appreciate in particular the help of all European socialists, whether from the ranks of the communist or of the socialist parties in West Europe. The official propaganda in Czechoslovakia has completely concealed the fact that among the resolute critics of the actions taken by the Prague regime are the leaders of the largest communist parties in West Europe, particularly E. Berlinguer, G. Marchais and S. Carillo, because somehow this does not fit in the fundamental concept of that propaganda according to which Charter 77 is hailed in the West by those who are trying to return to cold war and by the enemies of the policy of detente. Early in January I gave the press agencies in Prague my personal statement about the situation in Czechoslovakia, whereby I asked particularly the European communists and socialists for their help against the Prague regime's effort to portray the followers of Charter 77 as allies of the imperialist reaction. Today I should like to thank all those who in fact have rendered such help. Those are primarily all those to whom I especially appealed at that time: in addition to the already mentioned communist leaders, they were most of all the prominent European socialist representatives: W. Brandt, B. Kreisky, F. Mitterand, B. Craxi and O. Palme, who with genuine sincerity raised their voices against the efforts of the official Czechoslovak propaganda to portray white as black and to declare the defense of the principal agreements concluded in 1975 in Helsinki as an attack against the objectives of the Helsinki Conference. The official Czechoslovak propaganda may continue trumpeting that around again and again, but thanks to the opposition of the democratic and socialist forces, few people, not only abroad but also on the Czechoslovak territory, will believe it. Every dictatorship would rather violate the

citizens' rights and interests without stirring any attention. Any kind of attention focused on the government's dictatorial methods, therefore, is most disagreeable to it, because it helps its critics. The worst thing for the defenders of human rights in Czechoslovakia would be if their effort were passed over in silence. I think that after Charter 77 no such situation can ever threaten again. What is necessary is not to attract the attention of the democrats and socialists in Europe only to the individual, most conspicuous cases, not to pay attention only to the fate of some individuals with well known names. Attention must be systematically and untiringly turned to the way thousands and thousands are being treated in the world, including the unknown defenders of human rights. Such people must be protected against such forms of persecution as, for example, existential persecution, because that is often equally as important for hundreds of thousands of people as the fight against the most conspicuous repressions during the era of political trials.

[Question] What is in your view the effect of the 1975 Helsinki Conference on the future development of political democracy in Czechoslovakia?

[Answer] I decidedly do not share the opinion which claims that the political line which resulted in the 1975 Helsinki Conference hurt the progress toward political democracies in those countries where such democracy has been crippled and denied, as, for example, at present in Czechoslovakia. If anything has harmed the progress to political democracy in European countries--whether in the West or in the East--then, in my opinion, it is exactly the atmosphere which preceded the policy of detente. That situation where the danger of destruction in an atomic conflict of two superpowers is threatening the world favors extreme, precarious solutions. Those nations which are not superpowers and which do not have their own "atomic umbrella" for such an emergency are forced to seek protection under the umbrella of one or the other superpower. That situation has pushed into background the needs and interests of those nations which are not superpowers, limited their opportunities to make sovereign decisions about their own affairs, fostered the division of Europe (and of the world) into closed blocs where everyone must somewhat "naturally" submit to the will and interests of that bloc's most powerful state, the holder of the "atomic umbrella" under which all nations of that bloc may take cover. It is understandable that under such circumstances the internal political problems, including enormous social conflicts, also are not being solved primarily by means of a free development of inner forces and opportunities of sovereign countries which are not superpowers; in fact, they are subordinated to the needs and viewpoints of that bloc, i.e., in the long run, to the chosen superpower. Under such circumstances the problem of the development and victory of socialism appears to many people rather as a problem of superiority and potential military victory of one bloc over the other than a problem of the internal development within every sovereign national community.

On the other hand, the policy of detente, reduction of the threat of a conflict of the superpowers, cessation of the arms race, etc.--all that logically leads to opposite tendencies. Thus, there is an increasing opportunity even for the less powerful nations, which compose most of Europe, to determine their own affairs as sovereign states; their dependence on Europe's and the world's division into blocs is declining. Also, the development of socialism has gradually become primarily an internal affair within individual national communities. In general, all that is much more favorable for the development of political democracy. All that is of extraordinary, particular importance for Czechoslovakia, because of the historical tradition of this country, its economic and cultural standards and the thinking of its people--all that could hardly produce a regime of political dictatorship, such as ruled this country in the 1950's and such as is ruling it again since 1969. This type of regime was, and is, an outcome of external influences and forces, and not an outcome of a sovereign development of the national community. Only by overcoming the old political atmosphere of "blocs" in Europe will a way open for the Czechoslovak people to assert their own potentials and ideals--and in the given situation, that is the way of developing political democracy on the basis of socialist, economic and social class relations.

In addition to its total fundamental positive significance for the development of political democracy in our country, the Helsinki Conference, of course, had also a positive impact which was quite specific and timely. By articulating also the problems of human rights and the problems of the so-called Basket III in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, that conference made possible a gradual development of civil initiative demanding a greater measure of political democracy than the political power is willing to grant. In that sense, Charter 77 is in fact also a true child of the Helsinki Conference of 1975. The government may treat it like a mean step-mother, yet it cannot destroy that child, if it does not want to renounce completely its own obligations which it adopted in the family of other European nations in Helsinki.

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CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

LEADERS SEND MESSAGES TO HONECKER ON 65TH BIRTHDAY

Zhivkov Greetings

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Aug 77 p 1 AU

[Apparent text of telegram from Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council, to Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, on the occasion of awarding Honecker the GDR "Karl Marx" order]

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council, has sent the following message to Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the GDR State Council:

Dear Comrade Honecker: On the occasion of your 65th birthday and on your receiving the GDR's highest award, the "Karl Marx" Order, please accept most cordial and fraternal greetings on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and on my personal behalf.

The Communists and the entire Bulgarian working people know you as a loyal and experienced Marxist-Leninist, consistent internationalist and tireless fighter for the cause of peace and socialism throughout the entire world.

We highly value your personal contribution to strengthening the cohesion and unity of action of the socialist community countries, led by the glorious USSR, as well as your tireless activity as first party and state leader, in building the developed socialist society in the GDR and in the conduct of a consistent foreign policy.

On this happy day for you, Comrade Honecker, we wish you good health and new successes in your highly responsible activity for the benefit of the GDR people, the further development of the friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our fraternal parties and countries, for the triumph of our common cause--communism.

Castro Greetings

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Aug 77 p 2 AU

[Fidel Castro message]

[Text] Dear Comrade:

On behalf of our party, the people and the government we congratulate you most cordially on your 65th birthday and at the same time wish you good health and personal well-being. On this occasion we recall the fact that your long life as a revolutionary and a communist is marked by your self-sacrificing struggle against Nazism, for the founding of the GDR, the first worker-peasant state in the country of Marx and Engels, for the communist education of its young generation, and for the building of the developed socialist society in close alliance with the Soviet Union. We value your very high reputation and your role in the international communist and workers movement as well as your great contribution to the consolidation of peace and of socialism. We take this opportunity to assure you that the relations of friendship and cooperation existing between the Cuban Communist Party and the SED will continue to further deepen to the benefit of our two peoples and countries and in the interest of the cause of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism. An example of this are the regular meetings that have taken place between our two parties, especially your visit to Cuba in February 1974 from which there have remained among our people deep admiration, sympathy and affection for you. I personally will always remember my visits to the GDR and especially the warm-hearted reception extended to our delegation in May this year.

Let me assure you again of our greatest respect and esteem.

[Signed] Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, chairman of the Council of State and president of the Council of Ministers of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba.

Husak Greetings

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Aug 77 p 1 AU

[CPCZ General Secretary Gustav Husak message]

[Text] Dear Comrade Honecker:

On the occasion of this important anniversary in your life I convey to you cordial comradely greetings and sincere congratulations on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee and on my own behalf.

The Czechoslovak communists and our country's working people honor you as the leading representative of SED and of the first socialist worker-peasant state on German soil, the fraternal GDR, as an indefatigable fighter in the foremost ranks of the international communist and workers movement. We highly value your active and meritorious work over many years to implement the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in building the developed socialist society in the GDR.

Also constantly linked with your name is the GDR's active part in the joint struggle of the countries of the socialist community and of all progressive mankind for peace, for strengthening international security and for developing mutually advantageous international cooperation.

We sincerely appreciate your personal contribution toward the universal development of the fraternal cooperation between our two parties and countries for deepening their bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union and with other socialist countries. Your constant endeavors to consolidate the unity of the socialist community and of the international communist and workers movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism are highly valued in the ranks of the communists and the working people of the CSSR.

We wish you, esteemed Comrade Honecker, good health and many successes in the coming years of resolute work to build the developed society in the GDR, for the cause of peace and progress, of socialism and of progress in the world.

With Communist greetings.

[Signed] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, president of the CSSR.

Kadar-Losonczi Greetings

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Aug 77 p 2 AU

[Janos Kadar, Pal Losonczi message]

[Text] Dear Comrade Honecker:

On your 65th birthday we most cordially congratulate you on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee and on our own behalf.

Our party and our people know and value you, dear Comrade Honecker, as an outstanding fighter of the German and international communist movement, who throughout his work has acquired undying merits for the flourishing of the first worker-peasant state, for strengthening peace and security, for consolidating the community of socialist states and the unity of the

international workers movement. It gives us great satisfaction that you are indefatigably working to expand the relations between our two countries and to deepen the fraternal friendship of our peoples.

For your responsible work in the service of the GDR, peace and socialism we wish you, dear Comrade Honecker, good health and much success.

[Signed] Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Tsedenbal Greetings

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Aug 77 p 2 AU

[Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal birthday message to Erich Honecker]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Honecker:

Permit me to convey cordial congratulations to you, the outstanding party and state leader of the GDR and prominent functionary of the international communist movement, on the occasion of your 65th birthday, on behalf of the MPRP Central Committee, the presidium of the People's Great Hural of the MPR, all the Mongolian people, as well as on my own behalf.

The Mongolian people most highly appreciate and respect you as an active participant in the struggle against fascism and reaction, for your fatherland's happiness and prosperity, as a stanch Marxist-Leninist who devotes all his energies and all his knowledge to the noble cause of the triumph of peace and socialism on German soil.

You are also a true internationalist, a passionate advocate of friendship with the homeland of the Great October, the Soviet Union, and the other fraternal countries of socialism, a champion of the unity of all revolutionary, progressive forces, of the strengthening of peace and cooperation among the peoples.

It is pleasant to note that the magnificent successes of the GDR working people in building the developed socialism, in constantly consolidating their positions in the world, are inseparably linked with the inspiring and organizing work of the SED and its Central Committee, led by you.

Our country's working people and Communists highly appreciate the great contribution that you personally have made toward constantly expanding and deepening the fraternal friendship and universal cooperation between the MPR and the GDR, between the MPRP and the SED on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. A significant example of this is the treaty on friendship and cooperation between the MPR and the GDR that we signed in May this year.

On your 65th birthday, esteemed Comrade Honecker, we wish you with all our heart good health, a long life and great success in your fruitful work, to the benefit of the further development and prospering of the GDR; in the name of the triumph of the ideals of socialism and of communism.

Signed Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, first secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the People's Great Hural of the MPRP.

Gierek-Jablonski Greetings

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 77 p 1 AU

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Berlin:

Dear Comrade Honecker, on the occasion of your jubilee--the 65th anniversary of your birth--on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council of the Polish People's Republic and on our own behalf we send you our most cordial greetings and wishes.

Your life as an outstanding leader of the German and international workers movement who from his very youth has fought indefatigably in the ranks of the German communists for the liberation of the German workers class from the exploitation of the capitalist monopolies, who struggled against the criminal plans of Hitlerite militarism and fascism and who paid for this with 10 years of incarceration in Hitlerite prisons, elicits our people's profound respect.

The great contribution to socialist construction in the fraternal GDR made by you at all the responsible posts entrusted to you by the party and by the GDR people is also common knowledge.

Your activities as the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and the chairman of the State Council of the GDR coincide with the period of dynamic socioeconomic development of the GDR, with the increased prosperity of its citizens, with the successful construction of a developed socialist society and with the GDR's active efforts in the international arena in favor of strengthening peace, detente and international cooperation.

Our country's working people have enormous admiration for the GDR's successes achieved under the leadership of the SED and you personally.

We highly value your loyalty to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and your contribution to the development of the fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation among the socialist countries and to the struggle of all the progressive forces of mankind for the noble aims of peace and socialism.

Dear Comrade Honecker, recalling our meetings with you, we want to emphasize your personal merits in the historic cause of strengthening and developing comprehensive fraternal cooperation between the neighboring socialist states of the Polish People's Republic and the GDR. We want to stress your services for the rapprochement and friendship between our peoples. The new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the Polish People's Republic and the GDR, signed on 28 May 1977, has brought our relations to a new, higher stage.

Dear Comrade Honecker, on your jubilee we send you our most cordial wishes for personal prosperity and for further successes in your responsible party and state work for the good of the fraternal GDR and for the cause of socialism and peace.

[Signed] Edward Gierek, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, and Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic.

Ceausescu Greetings

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 77 p 5 AU

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council, Berlin:

Dear Comrade Honecker: On your 65th birthday I have the particular pleasure of addressing warmest congratulations to you, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian people and myself personally, together with my feelings of esteem and friendship and wishes for health and new successes in your highly responsible activity.

Our people and party see in you, dear Comrade Honecker, an experienced revolutionary and an outstanding militant of the international communist and workers movement, who has devoted his life to serving the people's aspirations and interests, to the ever greater flourishing and assertion of the GDR and to the cause of socialism and peace.

You have made a great contribution to successes attained by the working people, under SED leadership, in all fields of socioeconomic construction and in building the developed socialist society in the GDR, the first German state of workers and peasants.

I recall with profound pleasure our meetings and the talks and understandings we reached during my June visit to the GDR. I am firmly convinced that, by taking further action in the spirit of the joint declaration we signed in Berlin, the relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the RCP and SED and between the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania, will increasingly develop and diversify, something which accords with the interests of our peoples and with the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

On your birthday, dear Comrade Honecker, I wish you from the bottom of my heart much health, long life and new successes in your activity at the head of the party and state, for the continuous flourishing of the GDR.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Vietnam Leaders' Greetings

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Aug 77 p 2 AU

[Message from Vietnamese leaders Le Duan, Ton Duc Thang and Pham Van Dong ]

[Text] Highly esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker:

On the occasion of your 65th birthday we convey to you, the highly esteemed friend of the Vietnamese people, the most cordial congratulations on behalf of the Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee, the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, all Vietnamese people and on our own behalf.

As a prominent son of the GDR and as an eminent leader of the SED and the GDR, as an active internationalist you have earned great merits for the building and protection of the GDR, and have made an active contribution to the struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The Vietnamese people highly value your great contribution toward strengthening and deepening the militant solidarity, friendship and fraternal cooperation between the two parties and peoples of our countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in the interests of the peoples of the two countries.

On this occasion we sincerely thank the SED, the government and the fraternal GDR people, as well as you personally, for the great and valuable support and aid rendered to our people in its struggle against the U.S. aggression, for saving the nation, and in the building of socialism.

We wish you with all our heart the best of health so that together with the SED Central Committee you may lead the GDR people to new, even greater successes in shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR, to create the fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism as a contribution to the struggle for the protection of peace and security in Europe and in the world.

[Signed] Le Duan, general secretary of the Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee; Ton Duc Thang, president of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; Pham Van Dong, premier of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Tito Greetings

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic service in Serbo-Croatian 0823 GMT 24 Aug 77 LD

[Text] Belgrade--President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito has sent Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the German Socialist Unity Party and chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, the following telegram:

"Dear Comrade Honecker: On the occasion of your birthday I am sending you, with special pleasure, my warm felicitations and my sincere wishes for your personal happiness, good health and for the greatest possible achievements in your hard work on the construction of socialist society in the GDR.

"I am taking this opportunity to express my satisfaction at the results of our talks during your stay in the SFRY and my confidence that they will contribute to the further all-round development of relations and cooperation between our peoples and countries."

GDR Church Leaders' Greetings

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Aug 77 pp 1-2 AU

[ADN report on congratulations extended to Erich Honecker on his 65th birthday at the Central Committee building in Berlin on 25 August]

[Excerpt] The congratulations on behalf of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR were conveyed by its acting chairman, Otto Schroeder, preses of the synod of the federation; Bishop Dr Horst Gienke; Senior Church Councillor Christa Lewek; and Parson Martin Kramer. They wished Erich Honecker good health, well-being and successful work in his high office. "We wish you everything we Christians conceive as a blessing," Preses Schroeder added. We have submitted a letter from the chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, Bishop Dr M. C. Albrecht Schoenherr, wishing "the highest representative of our state" fruitful work for peace and for the continuation of the process of detente initiated by the Helsinki Conference.

The congratulations on behalf of the Catholic Church were submitted by the Berlin Suffragan Johannes Kleineidam and Diocesan Councillor Monsignore Gerhard Lange. Speaking also on behalf of Cardinal Dr Alfred Bengsch, bishop of Berlin and chairman of the Berlin Conference of Bishops, they wished Erich Honecker personal well-being and energy in exercising his high office "to the benefit and for the best of all people of our country." They declared

that the citizens of Catholic creed and their representatives would continue to cooperate with the state in the endeavors for peace and welfare.

The greetings and congratulations of the citizens of Jewish creed were presented on behalf of their organizations by Helmut Aris, president of the Association of Jewish Congregations, and by Dr Peter Kirchner, chairman of the Berlin Jewish congregation. They stressed that the former victims of racial persecution were actively participating in socialist construction to insure that the horrors of the past, fascism and genocide, never occur again. "We have found here," they declared, "the fatherland for which we no longer had hope while we were still being persecuted."

Erich Honecker very cordially thanked the representatives of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, of the Catholic Church and of the Association of Jewish Congregations in the GDR for their coming and for their good wishes. He said that he considered this additional proof of the trustful cooperation of all citizens in the striving for peace and for a happy life, and that he would always use the high state function entrusted to him to insure that all people of the GDR have every opportunity to shape for themselves a peaceful, beautiful life. Erich Honecker in turn wished the communities of the various religions as well as their representatives all the best in their work for the benefit of man.

#### Honecker Expresses Thanks

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Aug 77 p 2 AU

[Open letter of gratitude from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman]

[Text] On the occasion of my birthday, workers, cooperative peasants, members of the intelligentsia, of the armed forces, collectives and institutions, citizens from all strata of our people, teenagers and children have conveyed to me their good wishes. Since it is unfortunately impossible for me to personally reply to the many manifestations of affection, I would like to express my most cordial thanks in this manner. We will continue to work together for the benefit of our people and to implement the goals of socialism and of peace adopted by the ninth SED congress.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

TATRA 813 MAINTENANCE PROCEDURES DETAILED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 7, Jul 77 pp 312-314

[Article by Maj S. Stief and Ensign Otto: "Experiences in the Maintenance and Routine Repairs of the Tatra 813"]

[Text] The Tatra 813 is a modern, reliable motor vehicle which is firmly established in its size class in the National People's Army. If the technical potential and the reliability of this motor vehicle are to be fully utilized in the interest of combat readiness, a high degree of training is required of the military drivers and the maintenance and repair specialists. Our experiences show that breakdowns of the Tatra 813 are few if the specifications in the service regulations and instructions are consistently adhered to. Breakdowns of the Tatra 813 are due predominantly to handling and maintenance errors. Thus, a special significance is attached to the basic and advanced training of the military drivers.

Methodical, practical instruction concerning the maintenance inspection prior to and during operation, the daily servicing and the No 1 and No 2 technical maintenance, especially as they apply to the peculiarities of the Tatra 813, are an important prerequisite for maintaining the operational readiness of this vehicle. On the average, during 10,000 km there were three and one half routine maintenance actions during which the average down-time due to failure amounted to 72 hours. The availability coefficient was continuously 0.99. These figures consider only those repairs made to items which endangered the road and operational safety of the vehicle and which were carried out at field level maintenance facilities.

1. Engine

1.1 Technical Maintenance

During maintenance the engine is frequently found covered with oil. In most cases this is due to a leaky lower cover of the fuel injector pump. The oil is blown by the cooling air flowing around the cylinders and

deposited on the outside of the engine. To seek the cause in a leaky seal around the valve lifter rod is often incorrect.

If there is oil on the oil tank or the compressor, the cause is usually a leaky centrifugal oil pump. To change the base gasket, one must also remove the compressor, since otherwise the bolt behind the compressor is inaccessible.

The centrifugal oil pump is to be cleaned during each No 1 maintenance. It is recommended that the inner rotor wall be covered with oil paper so that the rotor can be cleaned more easily. On mounting the centrifugal pump, care is to be exercised not only in correct assembly but also in the clamp-up torque applied to the threaded rotor shaft. If too large a torque is used, the shaft can be broken.

A frequent cause of breakdown has been insufficient fuel flow through the filter installation. The fuel filter at the sight glass must be cleaned regularly and the fuel filter insert must be tested for the required flow of at least 1.5 l/min at a drop height of 1 m. This test must be made, at the latest, during every second No 1 maintenance and during each No 2 maintenance, otherwise the fuel injection pump cannot be supplied with the required fuel quantity, resulting in decreased performance or engine stalling.

During technical maintenance, the screw cap of the overflow tube of the fuel injection pump is to be opened to permit the leaked fuel to flow out.

## 1.2 Routine Repairs

Engine removal is provided for ahead of time; the PRM-0490 removal rig of the special tool kit is to be used. If this is not available, either the cab can be disassembled and the engine lifted out by a crane or, without dismantling the cab, the engine can be removed by a fork lift with fork extensions and an engine sling.

The set pressure at the fuel injection jets of  $170 \pm 5 \text{ kp/cm}^2$  changes with time and combustion residues are deposited on the nozzles. Therefore the jets must be removed during each No 2 maintenance using the removal tool provided in the vehicle's tool kit. The discharge valve must be opened in the process, otherwise the valve head will be depressed by the tool, the valve cones will fall out, and the valve will fall into the cylinder. On assembly be sure the conical sealing face is clean. If necessary, the seating surfaces are to be lapped using an old valve part.

If the cylinder head is to be changed, the protective tubes of the control rods and the oil drain tube must, without fail, be screwed out of the head with the URN-0008 or URN-0060 tool. If one uses an ordinary wrench, the protective tubes will surely be deformed. When replacing the tubes, the lengths to be adhered to, measured from the face of the cylinder head, are:

for the protective tubes,  $197 \pm 0.5$  mm; for the oil drain tube,  $208 \pm 1$  mm. After changing a cylinder, the replacement liner position must be held between 0.9 and 1.1 mm, using the shims below the liner for adjustment.

Each time the valve cover is opened, the fuel return lines to the injection jets are to be checked for leaks since they can be broken by engine vibration.

After about 30,000 km, according to experience, the valves no longer seat properly. The compressive pressure gradually drops from 30 to 33 kp/cm<sup>2</sup> to below 20 kp/cm<sup>2</sup>. At this point, the valve seats are to be ground and the valves refurbished in order to again achieve full engine performance. After grinding the valves, a pressure test is to be made. The valve cover must be sealed very carefully.

## 2. Power Transmission

### 2.1 Maintenance

The clutch spacing is to be checked regularly and held at 20 to 22 mm between the rear surface of the plate hub and the forward face of the clutch release sleeve. For this purpose, the handle of the clutch adjustment wrench is conveniently ground with two shoulders representing the minimum and maximum adjustments.

Inspection of the oil levels in the gearboxes, main shaft housing, and wheel reduction gears should take place systematically during the daily maintenance. Wheel reduction gears have failed for lack of oil. In installing the wheel reduction gear, care must be taken to insure the seating of the socket-head screws of the planetary gear housing since these easily come loose.

### 2.2 Routine Repairs

In assembling the clutch, care is to be exercised regarding the correct order and direction of the clutch plates.

If in the transmission two gears are jammed, the causes can be a shifting error, a defect in the shifting mechanism or in the clutch. The reverse gear as well as the first through third gears can be shifted to neutral mechanically with the aid of a mounting lever after removal of the switch for the back-up lights. For the other gears, the shifting mechanism must be disassembled.

Care is to be taken in the correct use of the planetary overdrive transmission. In the field this drive failed on the average at 80,000 km; but in some cases as early as 12,000 km. In all cases, the cause was defective bearings in the planetary idler gears, and the free bearings seriously damaged the entire planetary and auxiliary transmissions. If these

breakdowns are to be prevented, the gear reduction of the planetary drive is to be used only when necessary and the oil on the auxiliary drive is to be inspected for chips during each No 1 maintenance.

### 3. Brakes and Steering Gear

The triple-circuit compressed-air brake installation and the mechanical-hydraulic steering system are very reliable systems on the Tatra 813. Repairs were required on the pressure regulator and the main brake valve when these parts failed through contamination. A preventive measure is to drain the condensed water from the condensation tank during each daily technical maintenance. Periodically, the pressure regulator and the main brake valve are to be cleaned by a contractor shop.

The parking brake fails when teeth on the hand brake segment break off. The cause is incorrectly releasing the hand brake. Before release, the stop on the hand brake segment must be unloaded by pulling the brake lever, allowing the stop to disengage. Only then will the brake be released.

In the steering system there were loose connections of the control boost cylinder at the frame and leaky boost cylinders.

### 4. Frame and Body

In exceptional cases, cracks occurred in the main axle housing at the forward spring support. After mounting the axle housing and making a test drive, the bolts of the bolted connections are to be retorqued and only then secured, so that all joints are tight.

Corrosion of the cab must be recognized early and eliminated. Corrosion, especially in cavities such as door sills, door transoms, braces, and inside the door, are to be prevented by drilling holes so that water from condensation and washing will flow out, and by applying "white cavity conservation material."

The window raising mechanism, whose actuation is by cable guided by plastic rollers, has been prone to failure. The cable slipped from the rollers, distorting them, and jamming the cable. The plastic rollers have been replaced by home-made aluminum rollers. Thereafter the damage has ceased. Cracks develop on the doors at the rear-view mirror support, wing windows and door hinges.

Also, the battery boxes easily corrode. As a result, the stops for the sliding battery tray break off. The batteries are vented to the back side of the cab by tubes. During welding work on this wall, one must guard against exploding the batteries.

## 5. Electrical Installation

The Tatra 813 is equipped with a 24-volt alternating current generator and a full-wave three-phase rectifier. The vehicle may not be operated without the ignition switch turned on or with batteries removed, otherwise the rectifier will be destroyed. If arc welding is undertaken, the vehicle must be grounded. When welding work is done on the cab, care must be exercised not to damage the cable harnesses and conductors running inside the crossbeams.

The contact springs of the control monitor sometimes break at the axle- and interaxle locks. As a result, the electro-pneumatic switching of the locks cannot be monitored, and it is possible that a power transmission part can be broken by an actuated lock.

The cable harnesses in the cab and instrument panel are designed as plug-in connections. There are various models of these connectors so that a time consuming conversion of the plugs is required at appropriate points in the maintenance cycle.

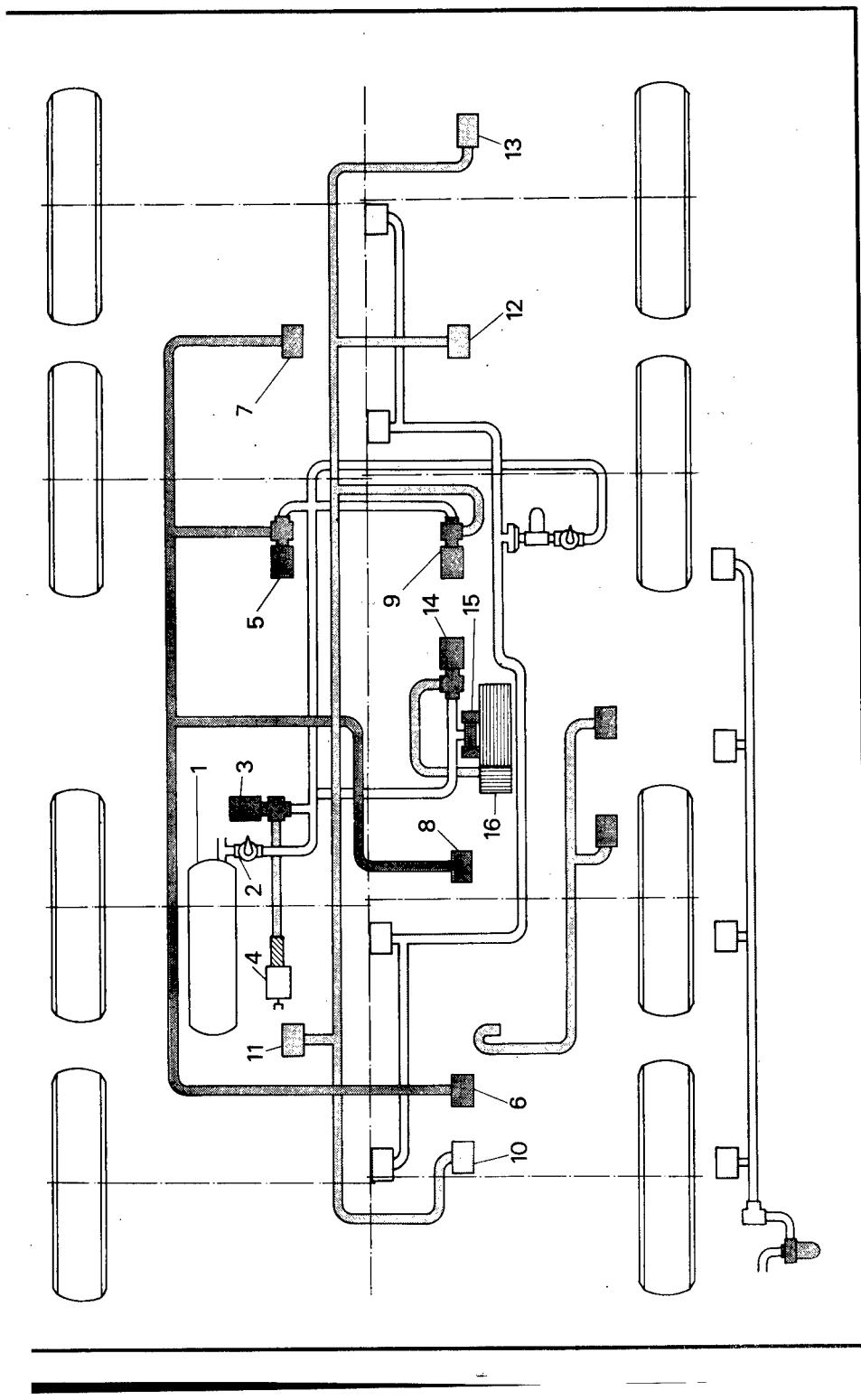
A further cause for breakdowns of various systems occurs when the contacts of the instrument panel circuit breakers burn up due to contamination.

In the 12BON3 heating system, damage occurs when it is preheated too long (max 10 tp 20 seconds) and the heating element burns out. Occasionally the pump drive gear of the fuel pump for the heating system gets loose. In preparation for summer use, specialists must disassemble the combustion chamber, jet and exhaust pipe to clean out the combustion residue and treat the parts with a preservative.

## 6. Tire Pressure Control Installation

In the tire pressure control installation, problems arise when the radial seal on the bolted wheel-hub joint behind the axle cap is leaky. If a new seal is not available, a plastic tube can be stretched over the lug of the axle cover as a temporary seal. The connecting tube of the tire pressure control installation from the axle cover to this tube must be continuously inspected and checked since it becomes porous and brittle with time and then easily breaks. These tubes were not available as spare parts, therefore acetylene hoses were used.

These experiences should contribute to the early recognition of problems and the elimination of their causes.



Electro-Pneumatic Operation of Tatra 813 Installations

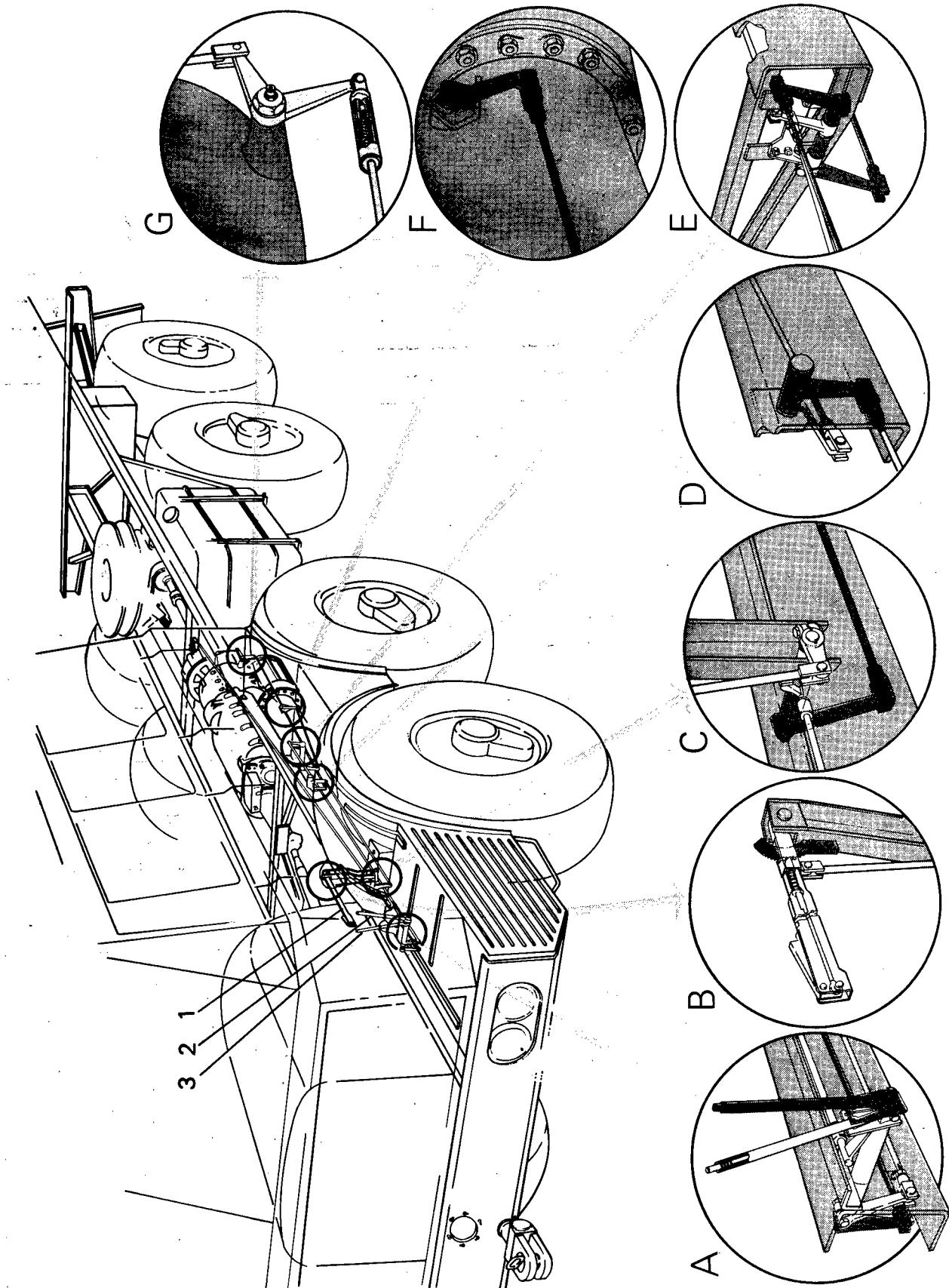
[Key on following page]

Key:

1. Compressed air container
2. Shut-off valve of the electro-pneumatic actuation system
3. Electro-pneumatic valve of the engine brake
4. Power cylinder of the power brake
5. Electro-pneumatic valve of the interaxle differential locking assembly
6. Power cylinder for the forward interaxle differential locking assembly
7. Power cylinder for the rear interaxle differential locking assembly
8. Power cylinder of the torque distribution lock
9. Electro-pneumatic valve of the axle differential locking assembly
10. Power cylinder of the axle differential locking assembly of the first axle
11. Power cylinder of the axle differential locking assembly of the second axle
12. Power cylinder of the axle differential locking assembly of the third axle
13. Power cylinder of the axle differential locking assembly of the fourth axle
14. Electro-pneumatic valve of the neutral adjustment
15. Dual electro-pneumatic valve plus power cylinder of the auxiliary transmission
16. Power cylinder of the neutral adjustment

Operating Elements

[Key on following page]



Key:

1. Hand brake lever with transmission brake actuation rods
  - B. Hand brake lever with locking ratchet;
  - C. Actuation rod with hand brake shaft and lever arm;
  - D. Intermediate arm with actuation rods;
  - G. Rear actuation rod with spring cartridge and conversion lever;
2. Cable winch lever
  - A. Shifting lever with locking mechanism, lever shaft, lever and activation rod;
3. Lever of the planetary over-drive gear
  - A. Shifting lever with locking mechanism, lever shaft, lever and activation rod;
  - E. Bearing block with conversion lever and rods;
  - F. Lever with rods

9160

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

POLITICAL PRESSURE ON PHYSICIANS--The political-ideological pressure on physicians in the GDR is to be further intensified. The East Berlin Ministry for Public Health has issued instructions that medical students can receive medical degrees or can qualify as medical specialists only if they have previously undergone intensive ideological schooling and have demonstrated good knowledge of Marxist ideology. For this purpose special seminars will be conducted in the future by bezirk academies for health and social welfare for all physicians and dentists during their advanced training as medical specialists. A 3-day seminar is scheduled for each year of the 4-year advanced training program. Subjects receiving major emphasis are Marxist philosophy, scientific communism, and political economy. Regular and active participation in the seminars is to be recognized as proof of Marxist-Leninist advanced education in connection with the medical specialist examination. It is only during a transition period running until the end of 1979 that candidates for medical specialist can report for an oral examination including ideological knowledge without having participated in these seminars. In any case, however, the ministry emphasized that the unity of medical-technical and ideological training must be observed.

[Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 165, 30 Aug 77 p 1]

BIRTH RATE INCREASE--There continues to be a positive development in the GDR birth rate. According to the East Berlin State Central Administration for Statistics, about 113,000 babies were born in the first half of 1977, as compared with 99,000 during the first half of 1976. Thereby, the birth rate increased from 11.6 per 1,000 in 1976 to 13.3 per 1,000 in 1977. This is by far the highest birth rate since 1971. [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 166/167, 31 Aug/1 Sep 77 p 1]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

RIGHT TO PROTEST POOR TREATMENT OF MINORITIES BEYOND BORDER UPHELD

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 31 Jul 77 p 11

[Article by Peter Ruffy: "Nationality Question--World Issue"]

[Text] 1. Within a few weeks I am taking up the nationality issue for the second time.

Why?

Because 3 million people with the Hungarian mother language, torn out of the Hungarian nation, live in the distance, or more accurately in the proximity of practically an arm's stretch from us, in the neighboring socialist countries, and because--considering the western 'dispersion' also here--for every fifth person of Hungarian language, the relationship built up and to be built up with people of other tongues--majority people who organize the state--and the issue of saving their mother language is an issue of existence, of fate, of survival and of continuance.

Why am I concerned with this issue in an era when humanity is progressing not towards falling apart but towards huge fusions and when the future favors human integration, and even prescribes it, whether we look towards the West or towards our socialist world?

Because internationality is destined not to sweep away the smaller or larger ethnic units but to lift them up, help them live; and the Soviet Union is the foremost example that the nationalities, national minorities, smaller and larger ethnic groups--or whatever we call them--can only truly receive their national, ethnic share and full legal equality from the internationality of the socialist age.

The issue, which was silenced to death, buried and covered up for such a long time after the second world war, has surfaced resiliently, with strong force in the last few years, and from a small issue it has become a giant one; from a European issue it has become a world issue.

Being hushed up and buried was humanity's defense, a natural consequence, because Hitler's followers ran down the nationality issue--using even the Sudetic Germans for battering rams for their world-conquering ends.

But after years of silence, the matter of ethnic groups surfaced with such force that the world was amazed to feel the searing heat which this issue--the issue of nationalities in France and Spain, the negro question in the United States, the disheartening African tribal wars, the horrible matters of Rhodesia and of the South African Republic--radiated, or, more precisely, shot out of itself.

And progress must be made together with the world's hot processes. The publisher of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Kossuth [Press] has just published the second book within a short time about the nationality issue. After Rudolf Joo's study, referred to the other day, entitled "Nationalities and the Nationality Issue in Western Europe," now the work of Laszlo Kovago--who is also an ex officio expert on the issue--the broader-outlook writing entitled "Minority--Nationality," which discusses the issue as a world issue, was published.

Kovago's work was already prepared with the breath of, and was written with the emphasis of "many speak of the renaissance of the minority issue" (p 6); "the minority issue has become a world problem in the strictest sense of the word" (p 44); "our topic is forcing us to emphasize that the nationality and minority issue has become a world problem and that ethnic conscience, nationality traditions and the effort to save or resurrect partially or almost completely extinct languages are living their renaissance" (pp 91-92).

## 2. Many legends, and numerous lies exist in the world.

The opportunity is here to recall one of them: In the peace acts around the Paris area which ended World War I, the French, English and American ruling circles were passing judgment on Hungary, which lost the war, on the revolutions which were put down by foreign forces; and on its old, bad nationality policy when these circles could have been found guilty of much greater sins. These circles, dressed in moral capes and passing judgment deceptively, not only did not grant the rights of nationalities, but exterminated whole, complete colonial populations and cheated entire peoples out of their existence, as the English have done with the Irish, the Scots and the Welsh; the French with the Bretons and the Americans with the Slave-descendant negro masses.

The young Soviet Union, which really stood on moral grounds, did not accept our peace treaty; and our ruling circles succeeded in wasting its kind disposition at the time by the insane war declaration in World War II.

At the writing of the UN charter document, though the Soviet Union suggested it--the issue of Yugoslavia--the rights of national minorities were not even included in this international document: The nationality issue, the ethnic minorities were simply "written off."

Laszlo Kovago, demonstrating this spirit, uses some of the material of the peace conferences and peace negotiations in Paris, which terminated World War II. Bedell-Smith, the American delegate announced: The citizen of the United States of America finds it difficult to understand that the racial minorities want their survival if they may assimilate." Lord Hood, the English representative agreed: "I agree. Let it be our goal that the racial minorities should assimilate in those countries in which they live, and not that they should survive." Clementis, leader of the Czechoslovak delegation was explaining that "...the national minorities are constant sources of skirmishes between peoples and countries. Therefore, Czechoslovakia does not consider it possible to return to the policy of national minorities, the impracticability of which has been proven by experience...."

Experience has really proven this. On page 2 Kovago spoke about how, after World War I, "The contract signed with Czechoslovakia assured autonomy for the Ukrainians living in the country; the contract with Romania did this for the community of Transylvanian Szekelys and Saxons, and the contract with Greece for the Vlahs of Pindos." Neither Czechoslovakia, nor Romania, nor Greece honored these contracts.

3. Actually, the nationality issue stepped out of its channel in 1974, and became a world issue internationally, universally and officially. Although the MAGYAR NEMZET published a high-level summary by Rudolf Joo about Ohrid, the Ohrid conference did not develop to possess the radiating effect which this issue would have deserved in this country.

This was the first international conference since the existence of the United Nations called to protect the rights of the minority, to discuss the protection of minorities. The minority seminar was organized in Yugoslavia, in Ohrid, in the state of Macedonia, between 25 June and 8 July, 1974, with the title: "Support and Protection of the Human Rights of National, Ethnic and Other Minorities."

The nationality issue has become so much of a world issue; it has so many twigs and branches; it is such a touchy subject, so complicated, and--with the new aspects of the African, American and Australian original inhabitants added--is branching out in so many directions that we have no word for the precise definition of the principle. Other languages don't have one either.

In today's world, millions and millions, even tens of millions, live on our five continents who wish to save their ancient ethnic traditions, who do not want to become others, strangers, and who fight endless external and internal battles for this, one of the most heroic battles fought in the world. Who are they?

Are they parts broken off the mother nation? Are they original inhabitants in their places of residence, immigrants, those who have migrated there, guest workers, or others? Minorities, nationalities, ethnic groups? Is there, or is there not--in the neighborhood, or elsewhere--an independent state of their own? Are they really minorities? Are they linguistic minorities, or religious ones? I will not continue the posing of questions.

I will just mention, why the concepts of minority, mother nation or nationality in many cases cannot be applied. In South Africa, the black majority is oppressed, and the white minority is the oppressor. The Basques of France and Spain have no mother nation, as the Hungarians of Transylvania have. The Basques have no statehood, just as the Serbs of the GDR don't, whose nationality rights are protected in an exemplary manner. This is an ancient Slavic minority, the smallest of minorities. American Indians, 40,000 Australian ancient aboriginal residents! Which is the minority, and which is the majority in those new African countries which have become independent, and on the territory of which over 100 tribes live, all speaking different languages?

I was in the capital of Bosnia on the 50th anniversary of the Sarajevo assassination, and I was present: I am an eyewitness to the fact that the south Slavs of Sarajevo paraded to a soccer game under Turkish flags. The game was played between a Turkish and a Sarajevo team. Kovago establishes that "the south Slavs living in Bosnia and Yugoslavia--whose ancestors were converted to the Muhammedan religion by their Turkish landowners during several centuries of occupation--are unwilling to identify themselves either with the Serbs or with the Croats."

Nevertheless, they are Croats or Serbs.

This issue has frightful projections.

#### 4. What is our job within this world issue?

Decency. Honesty. Example. Faithfulness.

Let me elaborate on my words:

We will be organizing in August, for the third time in Hungary, a mother-tongue conference which livens up, warms and cares for the unbreakable connections between the mother nation and the "dispersion." Our job is to realize the socialist-spirited, exemplary-nationality policy. According to the data of the 1970 census, 1.5 percent professed to be of other than Hungarian native tongue in Hungary. But our nationality educational policy (I am quoting Laszlo Kovago) "takes into consideration the language and cultural needs of about 3 percent Hungarian citizen Germans, Croats, Serbs, Slovens, Romanians and Slovaks." Our job, moral obligation, is what Kovago defines thus: "In our national policy, the standpoint is fully realized that in the interest of fulfilling the high quality cultural needs of our nationalities, we request the assistance of their mother nations."

The question was asked in Ohrid, whether minority policy is an internal matter. Many deny this. In the area of connections between national minorities and their mother nations, according to Kovago, three kinds of policies are realized: "There are countries which hinder, ones which tolerate and ones which promote such connections." And point 96 of the

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Ohrid summary concludes that "it is legal for the country of origin to care about the fate of the minority living in another country, and that must not hinder the reference to noninterference in internal affairs, particularly in those cases where they deny the existence of a national or ethnic minority, when they do not fulfill the obligations derived from international agreements or if they are conducting a forceful assimilation policy."

8584  
CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

WORKERS TO RECEIVE GREATER VOICE IN MANAGEMENT

Worker Participation in Management

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 7 Aug 77 p 5

[Article by Janos Vajda: "To Participate in Management"]

[Text] It used to be enough for the boss, the manager, to give an order, and everyone did as he was told. But amid the circumstances of the technological-scientific revolution, production is a much more complicated process than being able to be directed in the proper channel by a boss. Closely tuned cooperation of various enterprise groups and production units is necessary, the arousal of creative ability derived from the individuality of workers is indispensable, so much so that the well-traveled road can no longer be traveled. According to economic-social investigations, three components are necessary for effective production activity: Taking workers into the decision-making process, creation of proper interests and information on the collective's activity.

An article in INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT (American magazine on management theory) has an opinion on this latter, worthy of attention. "The sincere word, ample information generate trust... If the higher organs keep secrets from their subordinates, a feeling of insecurity is created in the subordinates, which will lead to the condition that they will busy themselves not with the carrying out of their assignments, but with the obtaining of the missing information. And through hidden channels they will find this information which they seek, but this is the hotbed of gossip and intrigue." All these--the article establishes--are damaging to the efficiency of the enterprise's activity.

Well, even though we cannot renounce efficiency either, in our society other reasons also make it necessary to inform the workers, and to pay attention to their opinion, to take them into the decision-making process. To wit, participation of the workers in the decisionmaking process is actually a characteristic form, one of the manifestations of the class's exercise of power. And this in every way contributes to the workers performing their activities at their places of work with the responsibility of owners.

Active energies derived from the liberation of the creative forces, are served by the joint resolution of the Council of Ministers and SZOT's [National Council of Trade Unions] presidium published in May of this year on some issues of plant democracy. The resolution, and the SZOT presidium's guiding principles precisely designate the system of forming organized democratic forums at the enterprises, the rules of their operation, the method of workers' participation, and the sphere of issues which belong to these forums.

But the question is whether democratic atmosphere can be created in one stroke at the enterprises and plants through institutionalized regulations?

Opinions differ quite significantly about the present situation. "When I spoke about the trustees' increased sphere of authority during our expanded leadership meeting, a few people smiled," complained the secretary of the shop committee of one of our machinery industry enterprises the other day. There are opinions saying, why are there so many forums necessary, when they just rob us of valuable time, and they only ask for "opinions" anyway about things which have already been decided. The other extreme is that "the workers must be drawn into all decisionmaking, from the modification of product structure to cooperation between enterprises."

Jozsef Bencsik's opinion, from the foundry of the 4 April Machine Industry Works: "There are foremen who have not yet recognized the necessity for proper relationship with the trustee. This kind of partnership peaks in constant conflicts. But where the trustee and the foreman discuss all issues openly and sincerely with each other, results abound." On the occasion of an investigation in Csepel, three-fourths of those replying had favorable opinions about the realization of plant democracy, and they gave good cooperation between management and subordinates, proper protection of the workers' interests and effectiveness of public forums as reasons. But those who gave negative reasons, for the most part referred to empty formalities.

Of course, a plant democracy can hardly be imagined which is equally favorable for everyone. Numerous consequences stem from the distribution of work, production's technological limits and from the viewpoints of economy, which affect the various groups of workers differently. Development of democratism cannot be separated from those social, technological conditions which are characteristic of today. But it can be argued that realization of plant democracy, and its constant growth, is one of the significant conditions of our progress. This condition may become increasingly favorable, the organizational framework of plant democracy may fill with valuable contents as soon as possible--but as is also obvious from the opinions quoted--this will not happen by itself.

Assigned workers must fight their own battles in this, day after day, as must the various levels of management, and mainly the trade union officers, everyone at his own post.

## Public Debate of Proposed Law on Enterprises

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 7 Aug 77 p 5

[Article by M. - F.]

[Text] Far-ranging public debate about the proposed law on enterprises has been going on for the second month. As is well known, the law destined to regulate the economies, the management of state enterprises will only go before the national assembly after summarizing the opinions, suggestions of the most interested, the plant and working place collectives.

The trade unions introduced the proposal and opened it up for debate at all levels in the widest variety of areas.

Several people emphasized during the debate of the trade union council at the Csepel Iron and Metal Works: they agree with the placing of the people's economy's interests in the forefront, with the realization of central desires, and with the strengthening of the director's single-person responsibility. They also valued it highly that the law being enacted will provide broader opportunities for the workers to make comments.

### Criticism by the People at Csepel

Naturally, there were also a good number of criticisms. According to the opinion of the people in Csepel, the proposal does not clear up unambiguously enough the ownership relationships of state enterprises. The need also won expression that economic management should be made responsible for the level of plant and work organization. Observations to be heeded were also heard in connection with the enterprises' responsibility for shaping the socialist pricing policy. The debate's participants also complained about the lack of specifically fixing by law the obligation to create healthy and safe working conditions.

The workers called attention at almost every enterprise to the fixing of trade union rights in law regarding the possible closing of enterprises, and re-groupings affecting broader strata of the workers. This was voiced, among other things, at the debate of the Miskolc plant of the Cotton Spinning Industry Enterprise. There, also, demand for more exact definition of the trade unions' role was defined for other chapters.

The idea was voiced at the Miskolc cotton spinning plant that the responsibility of the founding organs, of the branch ministries to define the circle of activity of the enterprises founded by them, should be set in law.

### Miners On Responsibility

Workers suggested in the debate organized at the Tatabanya coal mines that the law should detail the managers' tasks in fulfilling the welfare and

social needs, reaching the cultural and public education goals, and organizing and managing the socialist workers' competition.

The law proposal considers the working out of the enterprises' organizational and operating rules to be the task of the managers. According to the Tatabanya opinion, there would be a need also for the trade unions' opinion and agreement in this respect. Another suggestion worth attention: the Tatabanya miners consider it important that the law should prescribe, in a compulsory manner, with respect to the enterprise plans to coordinate them not only with the interests of the people's economy, but also with the enterprise's common interests.

The trade union council of Centrum Department Stores emphasized, among other things, the responsibility of economic managers for the increased protection of society's property; they suggested that responsibility in this respect should also be contained in the law. There was much discussion here also about the importance of pricing policy; room should be made for this also in the new law. The workers suggested that the law should set down the trade union rights even more unambiguously, particularly, in what cases does the collective have the right to make decisions.

#### Who Should Have a Say in What?

In the debate held at State Construction Industry Enterprise No 43, those who commented were primarily dissecting the issues of trade union rights, and of work place democracy and single person leadership, harmony between enterprise independence and the interests of the people's economy. It was discussed, for example, that the law proposal should contain what rights the trade union has to have a word in developing the enterprise's or the trust's internal management, accounting and incentive systems. They suggested that the enterprises' trade union committees--besides giving their opinion about the managers' activities--should be given the right to have a say in determining the remuneration and bonuses of the managers.

The debate is nearing its end. The trade unions collected the opinions and observations of the collectives of about 60 forums. Summarization of the suggestions made is already under way. Of course, not all suggestions made will receive places in the new law, since some rights are already set down by other laws, and obviously there are also unjustified desires. But as a result of the debate, the law being born will by all means better reflect the opinion of the workers, of the plant and workplace communities, and exactly because of this, the workers will be able to consider it as their own.

8584  
CSO: 2500

ROMANIA

LEADERS RECEIVE CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES ON NATIONAL DAY

From Libyan Official

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Aug 77 p 3 AU

[Text] To his excellency Mr Manea Manescu, premier of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

On your country's National Day, I take pleasure in extending to Your Excellency our sincere congratulations and wishes for happiness, progress and prosperity to the friendly Romanian people.

[Signed], 'Abd Al-'Ati Al-'Ubaydi, chairman of the General People's Committee of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah.

CEMA Secretary Fadeev

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Aug 77 p 3 AU

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Very esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, please permit me to congratulate you, on behalf of the entire international collective of the CEMA Secretariat and on my own behalf, on the Socialist Republic of Romania's National Day-- the 33d anniversary of the country's liberation from the fascist yoke.

In the years of people's power the working people of Romania have recorded remarkable successes in socialist construction and, under the leadership of their Communist Party and in close cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, are now implementing the decisions of the 11th RCP Congress and are building the developed socialist society.

On the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Romania, we wish the Romanian people new and great successes in building the developed socialist society, and to you personally, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, much good health and new successes in your activity devoted to the well-being of the Romanian people, to strengthening unity, friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries and to the cause of peace throughout the world.

With special esteem,

[Signed] N. Fadeev, CEMA secretary.

FRELIMO's Samora Michel

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Aug -- p 3 AU

[Text] To his excellency Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

On behalf of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), of the Mozambique people, the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique and on my own behalf, I take pleasure in extending to the RCP, the Romanian People, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and to Your Excellency the most fervent and warmest congratulations on the anniversary of the historical day of 23 August 1944. We want to extend special congratulations to the workers class in Romania, which, despite the recent catastrophe, that seriously hit your country, has once again been able, under the wise leadership of the RCP, to turn sorrow into strength and to enthusiastically use this strength in national reconstruction and in consolidating the achievements that have been attained.

We also wish to greet the Romanian people for their firm determination to continue building a just and free society and for the remarkable successes they have recorded in the great task of building socialism. We want to express the desire that internationalist solidarity, cooperation and fraternal friendship existing between our parties and governments should continuously strengthen in the mutual interest of the two peoples.

With fraternal greetings and high esteem,

[Signed] Samora Moises Michel, FRELIMO chairman and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Spanish Labor Party

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 77 p 4 AU

[Text] To the RCP Central Committee.

Esteemed Comrades, on the 33d anniversary of Romania's liberation we want to extend to you our warmest congratulations on this very memorable event, a symbol of the Romanian People's resolute desire for independence and freedom.

The complete triumph over the invading fascist troops opened the road toward socialism in Romania and marked the beginning of a new era of peace, prosperity and progress that has turned Romania into a great, free and independent socialist country.

The Spanish Labor Party's Central Committee greets the anniversary of this great victory by the Romanian people led by the RCP with the conviction that it will be a new impetus in achieving ever greater successes in socialist constructions and in the country's all-round development.

[Signed] For the Central Committee of the Spanish Labor Party, Nazario Aguado Aguilay.

ROMANIA

LEADERS CABLE VIETNAMESE COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Sep 77 p 5 AU

[Text] To Comrade Ton Duc Thang, president of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam [SRV], Comrade Le Duan, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party [CVCP]; Comrade Truong Chinh, chairman of the standing committee of the SRV National Assembly, Comrade Pham Van Dong, premier of the SRV Government.

On the occasion of the SRV National Day, we take particular pleasure in addressing warm congratulations and wholehearted comradely greeting to you, the VCP, the SRV Government and the Vietnamese people, on behalf of the RCP, the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Grand National Assembly, the Romanian people and ourselves personally.

We rejoice in the successes attained by the Vietnamese people in fulfilling the decisions of the Fourth National VCP Congress and building the socialist society in the whole of Vietnam.

The Romanian people, who supported the Vietnamese people in their struggle for freedom and independence, hailed with joy the historic act of the country's reunification under the banner of socialism, and they follow with profound interest the activity of the Vietnamese people, who are fully engaged in the work of peaceful construction and the comprehensive development of the country and in insuring the socioeconomic progress of their fatherland.

We are firmly convinced that the relations of friendship, militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation existing between our parties, countries and peoples will record a fruitful evolution, in the spirit of the joint Romanian-Vietnamese declaration and of other agreements concluded by us, to the benefit of the Romanian and Vietnamese peoples and in the interest of the cause of socialism, of the peoples' national independence and of peace throughout the world.

We take this opportunity to convey most cordial wishes and new and great achievements in building a peaceful, independent, socialist and prosperous Vietnam, for the happiness and well-being of the Vietnamese people.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Manea Manescu, Premier of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

ROMANIA

MANESCU CONGRATULATES LIBYA'S AL-'UBAYDI

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Sep 77 p 5 AU

[Text] To his excellency, Mr 'Abd al-'Ati al-'Ubaydi, chairman of the General People's Committee of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Tripoli.

On the occasion of the Revolution Day anniversary, I convey to your excellency heartfelt congratulations and wishes for health, happiness and success, on behalf of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and myself personally.

I take this opportunity to reiterate the conviction that the mutually advantageous relations between our countries will increasingly develop in the future, in the spirit of agreements and understandings concluded between the leaders of our countries, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Col Mu'ammar al-Quadhdhafi.

[signed] Manea Manescu, premier of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

DEATH OF RESERVES DIRECTOR--Workers in the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets and in the General Directorate for State Reserves announce the sudden death, on 20 August 1977, of director Nicolae State, major general in the reserves. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Aug 77 p 5]

NEW BUCHAREST OFFICIAL--On 30 August there was a plenum of the Bucharest Municipality Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. The proceedings of the plenum were conducted by Comrade Ion Dinca, first secretary of the Bucharest Municipality RCP Committee. The plenum decided to coopt comrade Romus Dima to the municipality party committee and elect him as member of the Bureau and secretary of the Municipality Committee. [Excerpts] [Bucharest INFORMATIA BUCURESTIULUI in Romanian 31 Aug 77 p 1]

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

FUTURE FREE ZONE ON YUGOSLAV-ITALIAN BORDER DESCRIBED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jul 77 p 2

[Text] The borders of the future free zone, composed of part of Yugoslav and Italian territory, have not yet been defined, but this does not mean that there are no names for it. It is called "the state of two states," then "Osimo state" after the name of the place where the agreement on regulating the border questions was concluded between Yugoslavia and Italy, and where the new free zone was born. It is not the only free zone, but it is the first one on the European continent which is situated on the territory of two countries. Its borders are designated on the geographical map, but they should be marked out on the ground.

There is a great interest in this future free zone, in which the Yugoslav and the Italian economy will have their production plants and other facilities. The speed of their construction, however, will not be in proportion to this interest. Anyway, no such zone has suddenly come into existence. Dusan Cehovin, president of the Yugoslav commission for the administration of the zone, which was formed by an agreement of the assembly of the Sezana opstina, the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Federal Executive Council, points out that a lot still has to be done until the zone can become a reality. The task of the commission, headed by Cehovin, is to determine the implementation of protocol with the responsible Italian body.

A lot of preliminary work has to be done. The status and the framework for business operation of our organizations in the zone, for which Yugoslav laws are valid, should be determined in a more detailed way. A special group of representatives of all the republics and provinces has been charged with this task. A law on customs zone is in preparation and will be valid only for economic organizations in our country. This law will be enacted in the fall according to a regular procedure.

The other significant work is the financing of the construction in the zone. An agreement of republics and provinces is being prepared now, which should determine details in regard to financing of its construction. Of course, an economy will be put into operation here which is to make use

of favorable conditions in building plants on the territory of the zone, where special economic conditions will prevail. A committee of representatives of organizations from all parts of the country has been formed at the economic chamber of Yugoslavia. This is, indeed, an embryo of the future interest organization, which will soon, when the interests of the economy become specific, undertake from the Yugoslav side business operations in the zone, and which will otherwise be administered by a joint administration, composed of representatives of both countries.

Our economic work organizations will get the picture on the future zone, its status, and conditions of business activity in a special study which will be prepared by the economic chamber of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The study will be delivered to all the economic chambers in the country, and work organizations concerned will be able to become acquainted with all the details on economic conditions. It is true that some economic conditions are cited in the interstate protocol itself, while some will become known in the above-mentioned law on customs zone.

Many jobs, which the commission, headed by Cehovin, should carry out in cooperation with a responsible Italian commission, will begin only after the marking of the zone borders. There is a joint commission for determining the borders. There is also a list which specifies activities which cannot be carried out in the zone. This is the so-called negative list of activities. In this regard, it will be taken in account above all that industry which pollutes the environment does not develop, for there is no place for such industry, and neither will the production of weapons, drugs and other kinds of goods be allowed, because such production clashes with the norms of the two countries. Indeed, both countries will agree on production; however, the list of prohibited products will not be so lengthy as to threaten the future of the zone which offers many favorable conditions for various activities.

Although the details are not well known yet, it is sure that there are advantages in procuring raw materials without the customs payment. This is how the production in the zone will be competitive, for it is exempt from customs duties and other tariffs. However, if the goods produced in the zone are imported to our country, then they are subject to customs duty like any other goods and they do not have any special treatment. The dealing with Italy and with the European Community, of which Italy is the member, is also the same. Therefore, the advantages are in relation to other countries. This is how the equipment imported from other countries will be exempt from customs duty as in the case of raw materials. The nearness of the neighboring ports also offers favorable conditions for transportation, the fact which will make the production in the free zone cheaper and more competitive on the world market. Foreign capital can also be invested in the free zone at ratio of 51:49 percent [51 percent by Italy and/or Yugoslavia and 49 percent by the foreign country], of course, if foreign funds invested suit the interests of Italy and the SFRY.

The free zone is located on the territory of Yugoslavia and Italy. It transforms the border of the two countries into a threshold between two neighbors, who thus made an important contribution to international detente and to practical implementation of the spirit of Helsinki. The zone has also an international meaning, for it is sure that not only these two countries will make use of it, but others will also find their interests in it.

It has already been said that a detailed defining of borders is imminent; however, on the basis of the lines drawn on the geographical map, one can say for sure that the free zone will be situated on a quadrangle-shaped territory. It will be located in the area between Sezana, Lipica, Bazovica, Fernetica and Opcina. What is involved is a sparsely inhabited area in which, on both sides of the borders there is a settlement. The free zone will extend on 25 square km, and, as foreseen, about 250 small plants could be built on this territory in which about 1,500 people could be employed. Therefore, an almost uninhabited place would become a very frequented area, in which many people would earn their living. None of those employed, however, will live in the free zone area. After their work they will return to their homes across the Yugoslav or Italian border.

The present appearance of the territory on which the free zone will be located does not indicate that one day there will be modern industry and crowds of people here. Indeed, this is not surprising, for the surrounding hills, not especially rich in forests, cannot predict the future appearance of this area. But, a lot must be accomplished before that time. Above all, the terrain should be prepared: roads, water pipelines, and other infrastructure facilities should be built, which is not at all a simple or easy job. It has been estimated that about 2.5 billion dinars will be spent for the construction of community facilities, roads and other facilities. Following the designation of the borders of the free area there will be international bidding for its urban set-up. This might be as early as next year, and construction of the first production plants in the free zone is expected to begin in 1982.

A lot has to be done before then.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SERIES ON GREAT-BULGARIAN NATIONALISM PUBLISHED

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1813 GMT 30 Aug 77 LD

[Text] Skopje--The Skopje daily VECER is publishing in installments, a study about the roots of Great-Bulgarian nationalism. The author is the prominent Macedonian historian, sociologist and publicist, Dragan Taskovski. In addition to a deep penetration of the essence of this phenomenon, which in the past brought about on several occasions the tragedy of the people of Bulgaria and of other Balkan countries, and which is also today revived as Bulgaria's official policy, this study contains a number of facts previously unknown or insufficiently examined.

"Until recently," the author says, "the roots of Great-Bulgarian nationalism were linked chiefly with the concept of 'San Stefano Bulgaria' which the Russian tsarist government tried to create, for the purpose of its imperialist goals, in the Balkans and further afield in 1878. With the peace treaty in San Stefano, the Great-Bulgarian nationalism, which implies the creation of 'Great Bulgaria' received definitively a firmly formulated program. However," Taskovski stresses, "its roots stem from the times before San Stefano. San Stefano merely 'narrowed down' the pretensions of Great-Bulgarian nationalism to the area of the Balkans--in addition to Bulgaria (the northern part of today's People's Republic of Bulgaria), also to Dobrudia, Thrace, the district of Sofia under Turkish rule, the area of Vidin, Macedonia and south-eastern Serbia. It 'narrowed down,' because before San Stefano, according to the views of Yuriy Venelin, the chief author of this extremist doctrine, the pretensions also extended to Greater Balkan areas and to areas outside the Balkans. In his romantic enthusiasm, Sava Radovski even included the Ukraine in the 'Bulgarian land.'"

"The Great-Bulgarian nationalism," Taskovski goes on, "is therefore not a product of San Stefano Bulgaria, but its roots should be sought in the entanglement of both the imperialist nature of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie as well as given historical elements under which the people of Bulgaria (the northern parts of today's People's Republic of Bulgaria) began their national formation."

"The question which imposes itself," Taskovski goes on, "at which time did Great-Bulgarian nationalism emerge? It is known that until the thirties of the last century, the small Slavonic population in Bulgaria had not been conscious of its national identity, and it, therefore, could not have had these extremist ideas. Moreover, they did not even know the name 'Bulgarian,' a name which even when it was launched was not easily accepted by the popular masses in Bulgaria. This fact surprises only the uninitiated ones in view of the widely spread erroneous concept that the Bulgarian people of today, as Slavonic people, have a 'great' and 'glorious' past with numerous khans and tsars. The name of 'Bulgarian' had an even more difficult passage in Thrace. Moreover, in Thrace the process of constituting a separate Slavonic nation had already begun. However, right until the publication of the book with the title of 'Ancient and Today's Bulgarians' in 1829, nobody of the Slavonic population of Bulgaria had such a historical 'consciousness' or historical 'memory' about this 'glorious' past. In Russia of that time, due to the lack of homogeneity of the Slavonic masses in Bulgaria, the view emerged that it was fruitless to work for the formation of a Bulgarian nation. It was believed that this nation should submerge into some other already formed Slavonic nation in the Balkans. At that time, the name of 'Bulgarian' referred, among the Slavonic masses in Bulgaria, to Turkish people, to Gadzhals and Gagauzes, who lived in northeastern Bulgaria and who are in fact remnants of Asparukh's Bulgarians who live today in large numbers in those areas."

"The Great-Bulgarian ideology," Taskovski says in his study, "suppressed all political doctrines. After the creation of the principality of Bulgaria (which was the first state of the Slavonic people of Bulgaria), the Bulgarian Government and court used all the mass communication media in an attempt to implant these ideas in the conscience of every average Bulgarian citizen in order to be able to use him at any given moment as a force which could turn this fixed idea into reality."

Taskovski stresses that this "contagion" did not spare the working class itself or even its vanguard, the BCP. "Even the high leadership of the party succumbed to this doctrine. This, at the same time, is one of the reasons why the BCP was not able during Dimitrov's brief period to overcome Great-Bulgarian nationalism both in Bulgarian society and in its own ranks. This, with the emergence of the Cominform, led to the change in the BCP's policy--from the recognition of the Macedonian nation to the denial of it. This negative policy toward the Macedonian question is assuming monstrous proportions in the People's Republic of Bulgaria today and represents a obstacle to normal relations between Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Bulgaria," Dragan Taskovski says in conclusion.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

ENCOURAGEMENT FOR PRIVATE CRAFTSMEN, RESTAURATEUR URGED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1382, 3 Jul 77  
pp 18-19

[Article by Ljiljana Zorkic]

[Text] In the Law on Civil Taxation adopted last week, certain innovations are foreseen that are intended to aid those citizens who are engaged in private employment using their own capital. Progressive taxation of income has been abandoned for these activities, and a new system of incentives has been introduced with the aim of promoting investments in small businesses.

The conference on the development of small business held last week in the Assembly of Serbia once more turned attention to the subject of equalizing personal labor using private capital with capital of associated labor.

The friendly persuasion on behalf of those citizens who are occupied in independent professions using their own capital has been going on for 2 years now, but practice changes slowly. The reported "private sector" receives opportunities only in words.

It is true that the social plan for Serbia until 1980 regards small business as a mainstay of development, yet even though it has become apparent that thwarting its development can brake overall development, by the second year of the plan essentially nothing has been accomplished in the private sector other than proclamations.

That was confirmed a few days ago by Branislav Penezic, the president of the Council for Associated Labor of the Serbian Assembly. He stressed the following points:

There is the concept in some communities that the first considerations are whether someone will become wealthy without working or whether the opening of a particular craftsman's shop or a place of entertainment and the like means competition for some public organization of associated labor. Such considerations cannot be decisive or absolute in practical decision making.

Penezic added that, instead of active support and economic policies aimed at strengthening the material position and possibilities for development, there has been an increase in legal and contractual obligations for tradesmen totaling more than 30 percent greater than a year ago. There has been an especially noticeable lag in support for developing the individual sector, primarily in tax and credit policies and in arrangements for operating space.

#### Still in the Old Manner

The public agreement on the development of small businesses--which should be the turning point in the practical realization of everything that has been written in numerous documents on the equalization of personal labor using private capital with labor using public funds in associated labor--has yet to be signed. The hesitation is precisely due to the fact that for many it is difficult to sign a document that will obligate them to carry out something they have supported publicly.

Until 21 June the public agreement on the development of small business had been ratified by only 60 of 137 potential signers. There are still 58 communities that have to sign it, as well as the Association of Commercial Banks and other participants in the negotiations. That indicates that all parties have not yet perceived the need to go from word to deed in this matter, in the words of Marinko Milovic, the secretary of the Secretariat for Trades of the Economic Chamber of Serbia.

Milutin Cvetkovic, the president of the Municipal Assembly of Smederevo, also had words of self-criticism concerning those dominant old attitudes:

We still see private craftsmen and restaurateurs as potential rich men, and therefore, we do not give them premises, nor do we permit them to build their own structures and work in them. Furthermore, we question the source of property of craftsmen more than others' property. When a craftsman builds a home, all ask how he managed to do so. Yet everyone knows that he cannot get a publicly owned apartment. That means that the house is another excuse to place the craftsman under suspicion. How then, after all that, can we develop activities in the private sector?

Numerous times, the Serbian Constitutional Court has had to apply its authority to convince members of municipal assemblies--even in the most advanced communities such as Kragujevac--that the Constitution and the Law are on the side of the private proprietor or, more precisely, that workers who are engaged in independent occupations with their own capital cannot be considered second class citizens. For this reason a number of municipal regulations has been set aside that established more favorable working conditions for restaurateurs and craftsmen in the public sector, while eliminating the rights of private owners.

A few days ago the Serbian Constitutional Court heard an appeal by private restaurateurs from Cacak who were seeking justice before their own municipal assembly. In question was the evaluation of the constitutionality and legality of provisions of the municipal regulations on innkeeping activities and other services provided by citizens; the regulations established several limitations on private innkeepers.

It is certainly true that circumstances are changing in many communities and more understanding is being shown for representatives of small businesses, especially in tax policies. Yet the results of these efforts can equal nothing, because, on the other side, the self-management interest communities [sic] are turning every effort to accomplish the opposite.

A serious warning concerning this has come from Boris Borisov, the president of the municipal assembly of Dimitrovgrad:

This year, of 36 activities that are taxed on an annual basis, there have been increases for only three: for freight transporters with tractor trailers, for auto mechanics and electrical mechanics. Shoemakers, barbers, smiths and tailors will pay a lower tax rate than last year, and other craftsmen will pay at 1976 rates. Nevertheless, the burden on craftsmen this year will be three times greater than it was last year!

Here is the proof: Involved self-management associations, particularly of the republic, have introduced or increased the contributions that craftsmen must make so that, for example, last year's contribution was 2,850 dinars total; this year it will be 4,500 dinars monthly!

Borisov adds: If these contributions and taxes are collected, it will establish increases in obligations for craftsmen that are 20 to 370 percent greater than in 1976! That is probably the reason why numerous craftsmen are closing their shops. Their contributions are taking as much as 60 percent of their income....

That means, one thing is said and another done, and that at a moment when a resurrection of faith in the state is expected from the private proprietor. As if there were not sufficient proof that plucking the private sector leads to economic confusion....

#### Master Craftsmen Without Work

In reality, we are still paying a tribute to the fears about "rich master craftsmen."

In Belgrade, 556 master craftsmen maintain 4.5 million domestic appliances. According to existing standards, anything over 315,000 appliances is beyond the capacities for these craftsmen at a given time. Maintenance of the indicated number of appliances would require at least 7,000 more craftsmen!

They are necessary, and the workers could be found (the Belgrade Employment Agency had 51,000 registered unemployed), but there is no one to hire them! The master craftsmen are not interested in expanding their operations for fear of new tax collectors (in self-management interest communities) and old ones (in the opstinas); they work only to survive.

According to data of 1975 (and there is no indication of improvements today), in Serbia proper at that time there were 57,571 registered private workshops. In addition to the owners, they employed only 11,491 workers, or one employee per each five workshops. According to the regulations, each proprietor could employ five workers. (That means that was a place for 200,000 of our workers!)

The degree to which private craftsmen have been discouraged is also illustrated by the fact that only every 23rd workshop has a journeyman or will receive an apprentice.

A similar situation is found in the innkeeping business, so that we can only bemoan the unused opportunities, first of all for employment, which is of crucial importance for the intermediate developmental program that has been adopted for the republic.

There is no doubt that no one can simply regard these two contradictory tendencies calmly as they affect the future development of production of so-called durable consumer goods and services for their minatenance.

In 1975 in Serbia proper, nearly every fourth household (23 percent) had an automobile; more than every second one (64 percent) had a refrigerator and a television (52 percent), and three out of four households had either electric or gas stoves (72 percent). The plan projection for 1985 calls for 44 percent to have automobiles, 80 percent refrigerators, the same percentage to have television and 86 percent to cook electrically. This says nothing about agricultural mechanization and its prospects.

Naturally, this can be achieved if the private sector develops in the same direction as well, meaning an increase in the number of workshops and service establishments.

That has not been the case in Serbia so far. Between 1954 and 1974 more than 15,000 private workshops were closed. (At the same time in Slovenia their number increased by 8,200!)

#### What Is New?

Finally, what is new? What is changing that will hinder the development of small businesses?

First, we should mention that at the initiative of the Serbian Supreme Court (which pointed out the needless degradation of private owners in certain republic regulations), the Serbian Assembly has corrected some of the

mistakes: The rigorous conditions have been eliminated for opening workshops and inns, while private transporters will no longer have to register in Macedonia because of more favorable treatment there.

In the Law on Citizens Taxes adopted last week, certain innovations are foreseen that assist those citizens who are involved in private work using their own capital.

The progressive tax (with its discouraging impact) has been abandoned for income from these occupations, and a new system of incentives has been introduced, along with changes in the system and taxation for organizations of associated labor. These will be put into effect by the end of the year to support investments in certain priority activities, and therefore, in small business activities. This is the optimistic explanation of Milos Milosavljevic, the republic secretary for finances.

Although communities have a free hand in determining tax policies (according to their needs), still the new republic law could have been more generous toward those who live on income gained through independent work in the crafts or certain other economic activities.

In this regulation there are no stimuli from the republic for developing such activities, nor for employing more workers in them, nor for accepting more apprentices. Nor did ethnic crafts receive any incentive in this law, even though that was the hope and request of the Economic Chamber of Serbia. It is anticipated that the communities will compensate for the shortcomings of the law in their decisions and agreements on tax policies.

The innovations that advance small businesses can still be counted on the fingers.

A real event (for Serbia) was recorded on 13 May in Negotin when the first negotiating organization of associated labor was established. As the president of the municipal assembly of Negotin, Mihajlo Markovic, stated: At present it contains 26 workers, but that number is expected to double by the end of the year. The founders are returnees from work abroad, and the employees are largely women who are making protection equipment.

Up until now the banks have usually found (and approved) credits chiefly for major projects. For smaller undertakings, particularly those of small businesses, the bank windows have been closed. New initiatives are, however, in the offing. The first such is that the Belgrade Bank intends to form a special operation unit for small businesses. We hope that this idea will soon become a reality.

There have been 130 programs registered for development of small businesses of which at least 50 should already have been organized. But there is no capital. There is a wait of several months even in those cases where production could be sold abroad a year in advance, reported Marinko Milovic of the Economic Chamber of Serbia.

This is the present state in the development of small businesses in Serbia. There are many promises and many prospects for their realization, yet much tuning is still necessary before every participant in this unharmonious orchestra will be playing in the same key.

For the moment, the least sense of music has been shown by self-management interest communities. It is quite demoralizing that representatives of these organizations have not yet participated publicly in discussions relating to the development of small businesses and that the secretary for finances--Milos Milosavljevic, who is also a member of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly--in speaking about the increased contributions of private proprietors, shrugged his shoulders with apparent impotence and stated: "While we claim that in the changes in tax policies we have made a step forward, to some extent, in the areas of mutual consumption and in the organization of involved agencies we are still at the starting point...."

12131  
CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

PAST ERRORS INHIBIT YOUNG FARMERS

Changing Views

Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovenian 16 Jun 77 pp 6-7

[Article by Jurij Cernic]

[Text] Young Slovenian farmers would like to modernize the farms on which they intend to build their future, but farm managers who cannot forget the bad experiences of the past are afraid of making more substantial investments.

The farmers in the Ljubljana area are reputed to be doing well. The land is suitable for mechanized farming, sales of agricultural products are assured, prices of produce on the market astronomical, and transportation expenses negligible. And if the farmer is young, progressive, willing to work and socially active his farm operated with the generous assistance of professional advice thrives, renders a good return on the invested work, and provides a feeling of security for the future. Oh, if only this was not just wishful thinking and journalists' prattle.

Janez Abe of Mengeska 73 in Trzin is a young man who represents the model farmer of our society. Although he graduated from the intermediate engineering school in chemistry and is presently employed by Lek [Cure] of Ljubljana, he decided to become a farmer. For him farming is not only something to fall back upon or romantic daydreaming along the general tendencies for a return to nature. Janez knows exactly what kind of farmer he wants to become and how he will get there. He decided not only to modernize but also to specialize and expand his farm. And because Janez is not only a capable and striving farmer but also an active member of our self-managing socialist community as president of Young Farmers of Domzale and since the combinat Emona guaranteed to purchase his surplus and furnish him with professional assistance he should have no major obstacles to overcome. Yet it seems that it will be a long time before Janez can achieve his objective and forge a secure future on his farm.

"I would very much like to stay on the farm if only it can provide me with a suitable quality of life. We already have some of the necessary conditions for this. We are close to the city, our land is first class, and we are tilling it partly with our own and partly with the communal machinery.

However, our production is not specialized. We only own 3 hectares of the land and are renting some more. The machinery is not utilized efficiently," says Janez. "These are weak points," he continues, "which we must remove. First of all I would like to expand the stable and specialize in livestock only. There are, however, difficulties with new construction. Money is not the problem here, at least not in the first place. In the first place I cannot get the building permit for the stables because it is not yet known exactly where the new road to Brnik will be built. It could well happen that it will run across our property. Another problem is my father."

His father is not at all a backward farmer who adamantly refuses to give up control of his farm, preferring to run it in his own ancient ways. He is simply one of those property owners whose experiences in the past were much too unpleasant to be readily forgotten. "I shall never forget what went on immediately after the war ended when I came back from the armed forces. They took 3 out of 4 cows we had in the stable. Then they discovered the potatoes which we used as fodder for hogs and which I did not report, since it was stored in the open and quite useless for sale and they accused me of concealing food threatening to report me. If the mayor had not come to my rescue they could have made some real trouble for me. Then came 1963 when large state farms were being set up around this place by exchange and purchase of property. In exchange for some of our land we were offered land in Dolsko, 2 hours away, which we, naturally, did not want and so they simply expropriated our land. We were paid just enough to buy a bicycle. Before we had 10 hectares of land on which we could live, but after the expropriation we could no longer live from farming alone. I had five minor children and I had to find employment. Because of all this I am none too enthusiastic about the plans of my son. Farming is too unreliable as a way of making a living and investing in a farm is a risky business. It is not necessarily always the state that interferes, there can be droughts or the livestock can get sick and one is out of several months' or even a year's income."

Farmer Abe has misgivings about the future on the farm. Progress, however, marches on at his farm, too. His son Janez looks to the future with confidence. He has no fear that imprudent, unjust, and alienated measures might trip him up, too. On the contrary, he became an active participant in the sociopolitical life. With his advisor, professional engineer Demojzes, a promoter of the Emona combined enterprise, he already is making plans for modernizing the farm. However, before Janez's plans can be realized numerous obstacles will have to be overcome. He is well aware of that. "The errors that have been made cannot disappear overnight," he says. "Farmers remember them well. On the other hand, the experience of

the younger generation with society has been good. We are part of it and we have confidence in it. But on the farms the decisions are made by them, not by us."

#### Improvement Necessary

Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovenian 16 Jun 77 p 7

[Article by Milena Ule]

[Text] "The effects of past errors cannot disappear overnight," said young farmer Janez Abe.... These errors, not so distant in the past that our farmers could forget them, are a signal telling us how not to act in carrying out our current efforts to improve relationships in agriculture. Nor can we imagine that problems that have been piling up for decades will be cleared up rapidly and in accordance with our wishes. We want the farmers to know what to grow so that they may be certain of finding a market, not at the present prices distorted by various intermediaries into prices paid by the consumers, but rather at prices corresponding to the invested effort, so that the farmers' cooperatives may truly be their own cooperatives so that truly everybody, not only the farmers' would learn to appreciate the earth and what it is giving us through the farmers, and so on.

The time for awakening has come. We are increasingly more aware that we cannot live solely from industry, we are placing ever greater emphasis on the need to grow more food.

It is precisely this last requirement of how to grow more food--for we have plenty of land so that some of it lies fallow--that should be examined more closely. Recently there has been a series of political resolutions on the self-managing transformation of our agriculture, on the different socio-economic relations supposedly formed between agricultural and other producers and consumers within our society. There were many clarifications concerning the association of labor, land, and resources, many explanations to the effect that there would be no compulsion but that we were faced with a practical economic necessity, from which we should all profit if we manage matters well. A great deal of ink flowed in expostulating the necessity of socialization of agricultural production and integration of farmers in our self-managing economic currents, but there was precious little said about the so-called human factor--the farmer.

Indeed, it came to light, albeit belatedly, that one of the basic ingredients of the farmer's different status in our society was his social status, his social security which can by no means be treated as something that is separate from his farming, from society's demands for increased food production....

And what is the matter with the other element of the human factor, with the concern for the farmer's education and advancement?

We know that the elementary school imparts very little love for the land and farming to the children. It has long been considered that farming required no education at all, not even elementary school let alone intermediate trade school education.

For industry--yes, for farming--no?

This is what one could conclude from the number and specialization of our intermediate schools even today and I am afraid that the school reform with its introduction of specialized education brings no substantial change for the benefit of the future farmers and their education. Agricultural schools in Slovenia are very sparsely distributed and rather inaccessible to the less well situated farmers' children from remote parts and the criteria for awarding scholarships to children from farms are rather strict. This kind of approach poorly serves the interests of us all and certainly deprives the farmers' children. Therefore, in my opinion, we should not only emphasize the need for the association of labor, land, and resources in farming but also association of knowledge, because knowledge is the prerequisite for successful accomplishment of all the rest. Moreover, one can immediately ask about the situation of the agricultural experts. What kind and how many of them do we have? Do we have enough agricultural promoters who could work with farmers and help them specialize in a planned and rewarding production? The importance of these experts is best demonstrated by facts. Wherever their numbers are at least approximately adequate, the farmers are able to achieve their own, as well as the society's goals, sooner.

Their social awareness, too, is much higher if they are not left to themselves and isolated in their efforts, if they feel that the experts are trying to help them without pushing them toward some abstract social good, but work with them so that they, too, may benefit.

We are always emphasizing that investing in a person and his advancement is the most rewarding venture, but we have often neglected the farmers, particularly the young ones. It would not be right to continue in this way now when we are trying to rectify other mistakes.

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